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AN OLD HYMN OF ADORATION TO INDIA

(*From the Mahābhārata*)

In the Bhishmaparva of the Mahābhārata occurs the following hymn of adoration to Bhārata as the land of mighty sovereigns and heroic personages who bestowed immortal distinction on her hoary past. The hymn reverberates with the forcefulness of the classical language and breathes a deep sense of exaltation. It is addressed by Sañjaya to the aged king Dhṛitarāshṭra who was a descendant of the Bharata race :—

अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।
प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य मनोवैवस्वतस्य च ॥५॥
पृथोस्तु राजन्वैन्यस्य तथेक्ष्वाकर्महात्मनः ।
ययातेरम्बरीषस्य मान्धातुर्नहुषस्य च ॥६॥
तथैव मुचुकुन्दस्य शिबेरौशीनरस्य च ।
ऋषभस्य तथैलस्य नृगस्य नृपेतस्तथा ॥७॥
कुशिकस्य च दुर्धर्ष गाधेश्चैव महात्मनः ।
सोमकस्य च दुर्धर्ष दिलीपस्य तथैव च ॥८॥
अन्येषां च महाराज क्षत्रियाणां बलीयसाम् ।
सर्वेषामेव राजेन्द्र प्रियं भारत भारतम् ॥९॥

[भीष्म पर्व अ० ६]

Listen you of the Bharata race; I am now going to
recount to you the history of the glorious
Land called Bhārata;

The Land held dear by Indra the god and Manu,
Vivasvat's son;

The Land adored by Prithu of Vena's house, and
by Ikshvāku of the mighty soul;

The Land of Yayāti the great and of devout
Ambarīsha;

The Land to which Māndhātā and Nahusha paid
homage;

The Country of Muchukunda and of Śibi of the
Uśīnara line;

The Land which inspired wise Rishabha the Aila,
and king Nṛiga too;

Listen O you of might unassailed :—

The Land of Kuśika and of Gādhi, the high-minded one;

The Land hallowed by Somaka and Dilipa of royal line;

The Land endeared to many a Kshatriya ruler of heroic fame;

That Land which they call Bhārata, shall I describe unto thee.

[Bhīshmaparvan, 9. 5—9.]

Besides the cadence and rhythm in the original verses resounding with great names, one thing particularly remarkable is that the personages referred to are all of the pre-Buddhist period. In fact they belong to that period of ancient Indian history, which as the intervening link between the proto-Indian and the so-called historic periods is now beginning to compel increasing attention to be focussed on it as the historical science progresses in the country. The great Vedic tradition supplemented by the early Paurāṇic traditions relating to dynastic lists of kings and sages, racial movements and inter-communications between India and the pre-classical world, and finally the great cultural synthesis as represented in Hinduism from the earliest times—this vast material has to be subjected to the most patient and scientific scrutiny to arrive at the great truth that the earliest origins of the civilised man in India represent. This marks the one great problem of Indian History today, staring in the face not only the orthodox historian but also the shrewd scientific excavator whose spade awaits the glory of revealing the missing links between the two limits, *viz.*, the Mohenjodaro and the Mauryan archaeology. An intelligent and co-ordinated attempt both in field archaeology and in the domain of fresh literary research is likely to bridge the gulf between the Aryan advent on the Indian stage and the fixed classical datum known to us,

INDIA REPRESENTED ON A SILVER DISH FROM LAMPSACOS.

BY

V. S. AGRAWALA, M.A., PH.D.

Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

Lampsacos was an ancient Greek colony in the Mysia district of Asia Minor situated immediately opposite Gallipoli on the Hellespont. Its ancient name is preserved in the modern village of Lapseki. It was the chief centre of the worship of Priapus, a gross nature god closely connected with the culture of the vine. It was celebrated for its silver utensils in ancient times and is now well known for the discovery of the Lampsacos treasure consisting of many precious objects of art.

For students of Indian history the place is of special interest as here a beautifully carved silver dish was discovered bearing a strikingly original representation of India as a woman seated on a chair supported on elephant tusks. The dish is now preserved in the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities.¹ According to Warmington² who published this silver dish India is surrounded by mammals and birds which reflect Rome's commerce with India by the land route which was chiefly in use for such items of Indian export. He assigns the dish to the first or second century A.D.

The female figure occupies the centre of the dish, and the birds and animals are arranged in three rows and in pairs, one on each side of the figure. The bird on the proper right is of the parrot family, representing the large

¹ I am indebted to Mr. Aziz Agaw, Director of the Museum of Antiquities, Istanbul, for kindly sending me an enlarged photograph of the dish from which the present illustration is reproduced.

² *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, 1928, p. 143.

Indian parakeet found throughout India. It resembles the many other representations of this bird in Indian sculpture and art.

The bird in the corresponding left position is according to Warmington a Guinea fowl representing some African species, although he sees that its head is unlike that of a Guinea fowl. He thinks that it was added amongst things Indian under some mistaken notion of the artist. Dr. Coomaraswamy on the other hand takes it to resemble a Himalayan quail.³ But the quails do not have the pair of lappets on the throat as seen in this figure.

The two animals in the second row near the ivory legs of the chair were supposed by Warmington to be Hanumān monkeys, but that is not correct. They represent dogs of the tigrine breed which was produced as a cross between a bitch and a tiger.

Fortunately we possess a detailed account of this class of animals as recorded by Alexander's historians. A demonstration of their extraordinary strength and ferocity was given in the presence of Alexander himself, who witnessed one of them matched to a lion and cut to pieces bit by bit but not yielding before his adversary up to the last. This filled him with great regret that a specimen of such superb fearless spirit should be lost. However, four dogs of this class were presented to him.⁴ This breed was reared in the old Kekaya country of the Salt range as recorded in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa :—

अतःपुरेऽतिसंबुद्धान् व्याघ्रवीर्यबलोपमान् ।
दंष्ट्रायुक्तान्महाकायान् शुनश्चोपायनं ददौ ॥

(Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 70, 31).

'The king of the place presented to his nephew Bharata dogs of enormous size, who were brought up in the palace, had terrible fangs, and possessed extraordinary strength

³ Coomaraswamy in a review of Warmington's book in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 51, p. 181.

⁴ Merindle: *Alexander's Invasion*, pp. 363 ff, where the material is brought together in an appendix.



MOTHER INDIA on a Silver Dish from Lampsacos in Asia Minor.

equal to that of tigers.' These creatures formed an important item of trade between India and the Western world and their fame had reached even up to Greece in very early times.

In the third row two human keepers with flowing scarfs are restraining with ropes two carnivorous animals, the one on proper right being a tiger and the other on left a panther or leopard bearing ring spots on his body⁵.

The female figure is seated in the centre on a chair supported on elephant tusks resting on the ground. She wears a *sāri*, most likely with one end tucked behind, *i.e.*, the *sakachchha* style common amongst Maratha women in Western India. The sandals (*chappals*) on the feet deserve notice and are a Roman feature. In proper Indian art women generally do not wear shoes. She wears on her head a turban with a twisted rôle in front. Under it is shown the front line of frizzled hair, arranged on each side of the face in three superimposed tiers each consisting of three strands. We have yet to know if this style of coiffure was known to aristocratic Roman matrons in the first or second century A.D. In India this style of hair appears on the terracotta figurines of the early Gupta period, about 4th century A.D. The significance of the two small rods projecting from the turban is not clear.

The crooked object in the left hand is a bow.⁶ The right hand is held in *abhayamudrā*, *i.e.*, the pose for imparting protection. It is a happy conception of Mother India to show in one hand the *abhayamudrā* and the bow-wielding attitude in the other hand. The attributes and emblems of the figure suggest its most obvious identifica-

⁵ Warmington takes the right one as a leopard and the left one as a tiger; Coomaraswamy as a hunting cheetah and a lion respectively. The left one with ring spots is certainly what we call *guldār tendua* (गुलदर तेंदुआ, a panther) in Hindi.

⁶ I am indebted to Col. Stuart Piggot of the R.A.F. for this suggestion conveyed to me in a letter by Mr. T. G. E. Powell of the R.A.F.

tion with India [Bhārata-Lakshmī] as Warmington suggested.

There seems to be no support to identify in the form of this figure any particular goddess from the Hindu pantheon. The attributes in her hands and the associated birds and animals do not convey the details of any religious figure.

Western Asia was familiar with carved Indian figures, and especially Indian ivory from very early times. In the Palace Inscription of Darius from Susa the import of Indian ivory is specially mentioned for building the Palace.

The artist who carved this beautiful dish in silver deserves much praise for his ingenuity in one respect, *viz.*, associating Indian ivory in the representation of the figure in the form of the legs of the delicate chair. This feature pointedly refers to India as the object of portrayal. The art of this dish is distinguished by a remarkable freedom from conventions. It is eloquent in its expression and shows some independence of technique. For portraying a subject like this, no ready-made conventional formula existed before the engraver. He had therefore to fall back on his own resourcefulness to devise an effective symbol language for conveying the intended theme. There is no doubt that he succeeded eminently well in portraying India as a woman with fidelity to the formal elements then associated with India in the contemporary commercial world. The entire conception is no doubt original and happy.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES IN THE MAHABHARATA : UPĀYANA PARVA*

BY

DR. MOTI CHANDRA, M.A., PH.D.

INTRODUCTORY

I

The *Mahābhārata* is rightfully regarded by the Hindus as the encyclopaedia of ancient lores. It contains the precepts of the great ṛṣīs ordaining the rightful conduct and the deeds of the mighty heroes whose names are still cherished by the Hindus. The *Mahābhārata* was not composed with a view to give in any detail the social aspects of Hindu life, neither it was written to give us the geographical knowledge of the Hindus, and therefore whatever geographical knowledge we are able to glean from the *Mahābhārata*, specially from the *Ādiparva*, *Sabhāparva*, *Āraṇyaparva* and *Bhīṣmaparva* are incidental and not a connected whole. The names of the countries, mountains, rivers, etc., are mentioned in passing without any topographical details, very often even neglecting the direction in which a country or a mountain or a river lay, assuming their knowledge by the contemporary Indians as a matter of course. This attitude towards the geography of the country has created serious difficulties for the students of the historical geography of India and the information supplied by the *Mahābhārata* has to be supplemented with the Grecians, Chinese, and often by the medieval Arab sources which unfortunately lose much of their utility on account of their peculiar methods of transcribing Indian place names. The pioneers

* The title Upāyana Parva does not occur in the colophons of the Mbh. text, but is here assigned as a convenient name to Chs. 47 and 48 of the Sabhā Parva on the basis of their subject matter.

in the modern topographical researches concerning India such as Masson, Burnes, Wood, St.-Martin, Cunningham, Holdich and Stein have done much to increase our knowledge of ancient Indian geography but much remains to be done. The archaeology and its sister sciences have also given their helping hand in the solution of certain knotty problems concerning the location of ancient tribal republics, specially in the Panjāb. Unfortunately the texts of *Purāṇas* which should have served as a base for our knowledge of ancient Indian geography are so thoroughly corrupted that any attempt to identify the majority of place names in the Purāṇic list is bound to meet with failure. Their utility is further lessened by their adherence to the stereotyped description of the Indian geography bodily lifted from some common original source and just fitted in the shape of *Bhuvana-Kośas* in different *Purāṇas*. The Pāli Buddhist sources are somewhat better in their knowledge of Indian geography, but as the field of activity of early Buddhism was confined to Bihār and Eastern U.P., their knowledge of North-Western India is often hazy. This defect was later on greatly remedied when Buddhism penetrated from Gandhāra to Afghānistān, Central Asia and China. The literature of Sanskrit Buddhism and the Chinese Tripiṭaka have preserved for us some place names from the North-west India and the Panjāb, but these sources also suffer from obscurity which characterises the Purāṇic sources. Such being the condition of the sources of historical geography of India at our disposal the task of a research student is unenviable. He has to conform to the strictly scientific methods of modern researches with a limited material at hand. Philology, a hand-maid of all Indian studies, tries to over-reach herself in the matter of geographical studies. The phonetic similarities of the place names are so great that one is at once tempted to identify a certain modern place name with its ancient equivalent and then with the help of philology justify the identification. The works of Lassen,

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St.-Martin and Cunningham suffer from this defect. Philology is a good guide and at times a very successful one, but its results in the sphere of topographical researches must be checked by other sources.

In this article I have confined myself to the geographical allusions of the *Sabhāparva*, and that too with the identifications of the names of various tribal republics and monarchies which appeared at the time of the *Rājasūya* sacrifice to pay tribute to *Yudhiṣṭhira*. The importance of the *Upāyanaparva* as it is a sub-section of the *Sabhāparva* is further increased by the mention of the products of the individual countries whose representatives came to pay their tributes to the all-conquering Pāṇḍava brothers. After the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya the *Upāyanaparva* is only somewhat fuller source of information of the economic resources of India as she was then comprehended. Fortunately in the course of my studies I had the opportunity of consulting the critical edition of the *Sabhāparva* published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, while it was still at the press, through the courtesy of Dr. P. M. Joshi and Dr. R. N. Dandekar to whom my thanks are due. It must be said that this critical edition of the *Sabhāparva* has greatly improved upon the previous texts, and at several places restituted the correct ancient forms. At places, however, I have differed from the readings suggested by the learned editors, and I have adopted the variants suggested in the footnotes. In doing so I have, to the best of my ability, given reasons for adopting the variant readings. As far as possible I have given cross references in the *Mahābhārata* from the critically edited Parvas which have appeared (*Ādi*-, *Sabhā*-, *Aranya*-, *Virāt*- and *Udyoga-parvas*). but occasionally I have also referred to the 1836 Calcutta edition of the *Mahābhārata*.

While making an intensive study of those parts of the *Sabhāparva* which deal exclusively with the geographical matters such as *Digvijayaparva* (Chapters 23—29) and the *Upāyanaparva* (Chapters 47—48), and in this con-

nection the *Āraṇyaparva*, certain impressions have here left on my mind which I lay down for the consideration of the scholars. Throughout the *Mahābhārata* there is always apparent a sort of derisive attitude wherever a Panjāb or specially a North-Western tribal republic is concerned, and one often meets in season and out of season, the terms, *mleccha*, *yavana*, *barbara* and *dasyu* applied to them in order to remind the faithful of the middle country to be beware of the Panjābīs and the north-westerners lest they might be taken unwares and their so-called Aryan way of life and thought be disturbed by their malpractices.

In one breath the *mleccha* kings including Āndhras, Śakas, Pulindas, Yavanas, Auruṅikas, Kambojas, Śūdras and Ābhīras¹ are dubbed as false rulers (*mīthyānuśāsinaḥ*), sinners (*pāpāḥ*) and liars (*mṛṣāvādaparāyaṇāḥ*). This hatred towards the Panjāb and north-western tribes is reflected in the contemptuous way in which their land is described as the land of donkeys and camels, and even if we do not believe in the theory of M. Lévi that Kharoṣṭra denoted a geographical boundary² there is little doubt that the word Kharoṣṭra as evident from the Chinese interpretation of the word by Houe Yuan is contemptuous. M. Lévi to prove his point says that in diverse texts the ass and camel are connected. He quotes examples from Fan Yu tsa Ming of Yitsing. He also quotes from the Gaṇāpāṭha of Pāṇini³ to show that in the neuter *dvandvas* the compound *uṣṭra-kharam* is found⁴ perhaps expressive of some geographical connection. It is quite reasonable to suppose that Kharoṣṭra became a sort of symbol which denoted a country where these animals were to be found in large numbers. The south-eastern limit of the distribution of the camels is an imaginary line drawn from the mouth of the Indus towards the upper Satlaj and

¹ *Āraṇyaparva*, 186. 29-30.

² BEFEO, IV. 566.

³ II, 4, 11.

⁴ BEFEO, IV, p. 567.

for the donkeys the line of demarcation nearly passes from the north to the south leaving the eastern India altogether. The true country of the asses (*Equus hemippus*, *Equus Onager*, *Equus hemonus*) is Syria, Gobi desert and Baluchistān and western India. The donkey and camel are the animals of Iranian world. According to Spiegel⁵ the camel in Iran is only a little less important than horse and the two-humped Bactrian camel which carries heavy load and is able to live on very little. The ass whose two species are found in Iran is also an important animal. Avesta gives great importance to camel."

The derogatory sense in which the land of the Khara and Uṣṭra was used is amply illustrated in the *Karṇa-parva* when Karṇa deeply incensed at the disgraceful behaviour of Śalya burst out in rage. His scathing indictment of the people of the Panjāb specially the Madra country reflects in true sense the Brāhmaṇical point of view about the land of the five rivers. It would not be out of place here to quote from Karṇa's speech certain relevant portions which in their ringing condemnation are unequalled in India literature. "The Madraka is treacherous to his friends. Those whom we hate is Madraka. There is no attachment in Madraka. His language is uncouth." (M.B. VIII, 40, 20). "Their womenfolk under the influence of drink throw away their garments and begin to dance; they indulge in sexual intercourse without reserve and follow their fanciful designs to an extreme. The Madrakas in the legal terminology are the sons or those women who piss like camels and asses." A couple of hundred verses later (M.B., VIII, 44, 3) Karṇa continuing with his invectives quotes the opinion of a Brāhmaṇa which he had heard in the court of Dhṛtarāṣṭra about Vāhikas and Madras. "I have lived for a secret reason with the Vāhikas and I know of their practices, having lived with them. Their women dance and sing all

⁵ *Iranische Alterthumskunde*, I, p. 260.

⁶ *Vendidad*, VII, 42; IX, 37.

naked in the open places of houses and cities casting away garlands and paints, singing lewd songs in drunkenness which resemble braying of ass and grumbling of a camel. They do not observe privacy while cohabiting and follow the whims of their fancy. One of these miserable Vāhikas who lived in the Kurujāṅgala unable to have good time used to sing, “ ‘The tall fair women wearing fine clothes of linen who followed me in the bed, the poor Vahika of the Kurujāṅgala. When it will be when I shall cross over the Śatadru and Irāvati on my way to my country to meet the beautiful girls of the olden times. When will I return with the beat of tambourine and drum and the conch-shell blowing with the asses, camels and mules (*Kharoṣṭrāśvataraiḥ*) in the forest of *śamī*, *pīlu* and *karīra* whose fragrance is so pleasing’.” Another song of the Vāhikas, which the Brāhmaṇa reported is as follows, “ ‘When shall I be able to sing in Śākalā the song of the Vāhikas, devour the beef, drink the Gauḍa wine, and the mutton with bunches of onions, the flesh of wild boar, fowls, beef and the ass and the camel and enjoy the tall elegant women in perfect toilet (VIII, 2051). These Vāhikas about whom we have been hearing some of the most unpalatable things lived as Mahābhārata defines (VIII, 2029-30, 2041, 2055, 2064), “Apart from the Himālayas and Gaṅgā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī and Kurukṣetra, established in the centre of the five rivers with the Indus as the sixth live the Vāhikas, unaware of the practices of the *Smṛtis*.”

Now a pertinent question which may be asked in this connection is as to what were the reasons which actuated the Brāhmaṇas of the middle country to indulge in the whole-sale condemnation of the people of the Panjāb, the North-west Frontier, and the lands beyond? It is a well known fact which requires no repetition that the Vedic culture was nurtured in the Panjāb, and the very foundations

of the later Brāhmanic culture were laid in the land of the Five Rivers. In the Vedic period the land whose glory is sung in the *prthyisūkta*⁷ certainly included the Panjāb and the Himālayas. Even contrary to the expectation, in the *Bhīṣmaparva*, Chap. IX, in the impressive lists of the Cakravartis is included Śibi Auśīnara from the Panjāb, then why this hostility towards Panjāb? History supplies us the reasons. The culture which the Panjāb fostered had gradually shifted towards the Madhyadeśa, till Gange-tic plains and a part of Rajputānā became a sort of haven of the ancient doctrines and Aryan philosophy, and this heritage the people under the guidance of the Brāhmanas wanted to preserve intact from the outside influences, the fresh beliefs, and the fresh modes of life brought over by the many races which had migrated to India since the Vedic religion had crystallised itself. This abhorrence of foreigners and the aboriginals whose beliefs were antagonistic to the Brāhmanical thoughts became a sort of mania. An example may be cited. The cause of the Sarasvatī's disappearance is attributed to the horror in which Sarasvatī held the Niśādas; she disappeared at the very gate of the Niśāda kingdom (M.B. III, 130, 3-4). Nothing could be more unreasonable or absurd, but herein we see the creation of legends worked up by the clever ingenuity of the priestly mind to serve a particular end that is to save the flock from the contaminating influence of the barbarians. Even in the description of the *tīrthas* in the *Āraṇyaparva* our attention is again and again diverted to the sacred Kurukṣetra, Gaṅgādvāra, and other pretty *tīrthas* in Kāthiwar and all over the Madhyadeśa to prove that all the sanctity which a Brāhmaṇa could conceive was attached to the middle country. The story of the gradual development of this psychology might form an interesting study in itself. This process of drawing within oneself is fully developed in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas*, and the *Smṛtis*. To this psychological working of the mind

generating hate in place of love, may be attributed the division of the country into innumerable small states—the new-comers forming their own tribal states, and thus dividing the country in almost innumerable smaller units. This instinct of self preservation was still aggravated with the advent of Buddhism and to a lesser to Jainism. A direct challenge was thrown to the almost uncontested supremacy of the Brāhmins. The dharma of the Buddha simple in its conception and direct in its appeal spread quickly to the Panjāb and the frontier and in the early centuries of the Christian era spread to the Central Asia. The Buddhist church was not bound by the Brahmanical principles of castes, etc. Whosoever came to the Buddha, irrespective of caste, creed, community or race, was allowed to join the Buddhist brotherhood. To escape from this peril the Brahmanic hierarchy created stricter laws to ensure the purity of the society but mere laws without public sanction behind them are just like the body without the spirit. The invectives of the Brāhmaṇas against the spirited Panjābis do not seem to have been of much avail.

Another subject which should interest the student of Indian geography is a plethora of *digvijayas* found in the *Mahābhārata*. Among these the four most important ones are the expeditions of Arjuna to the north, of Bhīma to the east, of Sahadeva to the south and of Nakula to the west described in the *Digvijayaparva*, a sub-section of *Sabhāparva*. There are certain broad points in connection of these expeditions with which we must acquaint ourselves. The first thing which we should bear in mind is that these expeditions from the geographical point of view are of great importance. They not only tell us of the place names which are often of first rate importance, but their directions also throw light on the ancient Indian highways. Secondly, these expeditions echo the expeditions of the contemporary kings whether Yavana, Śaka or Hindu whose doings have been cleverly transferred to the

Pāṇḍava brothers. The itineraries allocated to each of the Pāṇḍavas seems to have been made up by a clever stringing of more than one itinerary. This is more palpable in the conquests of Arjun a and Sahadeva. As we shall see while discussing the date of the *Sabhāparva* these expeditions supply us with the informations of utmost importance, and when they are read in the light of the modern researches on Indian history they tell us much about the date of the *Sabhāparva*. Lastly these expeditions need not represent that such long expeditions were taken by the Indian kings at a time; there is an element of wishful thinking in these expeditions to exhibit the prowess of the champions of the Brahminical cause. This story of the *Digvijayas* was supplemented copiously by the contemporary events which have been connected with the exploits of those heroes.

Much more interesting is a long list of tribal republics mostly from the Panjāb, North-Western Frontier, Eastern Afghānistān and the countries on the Oxus and even beyond it. The references to these geographical names are very interesting. They are not a collected whole with any idea of putting the names of the republics in proper geographical order which might indicate their situation and direction. Sometime the direction is pointed out but in the majority of cases it is entirely left out. As usual the geographical names seem to have been drawn from the various contemporary lists and itineraries. Fortunately some of these disjointed lists have maintained some order in which the countries were situated and also their connection with the neighbouring states is often slightly indicated; this is all very helpful in the proper identification of the places. The various presents brought by the representatives from each country also give an indication as to which part of the world their land could be assigned. We need not dilate here on this point here as we will have ample opportunity to discuss it later on.

One very important point which requires our attention before we take up the geographical allusions in the *Sabhāparva* is that the boundary of India at that period was not as it is to-day. The whole of eastern Afghānistān was included in India, and the geographical knowledge of the Hindus extended to Oxus and sometimes the trans-Oxus countries. If we only keep this point in view much of the confusion which is bound to occur if we try to identify all the places within the modern boundaries of India as it is constituted to-day would be avoided. Indian culture at least in the second century B.C. had travelled beyond the limits of India, and during the course of its extension met in Afghānistān and the Oxus countries two other cultures Greek and Iranian whose natural actions and reaction gave birth to a new colonial culture in which the Indian and Greek elements preponderate.

II

The date of the *Mahābhārata* remains still a matter of contention; Dahlmann's theory⁸ placed the *Mahābhārata* in the fifth or sixth century before Christ. His contention that it was the work of a single man has long been given up. The *Mahābhārata* is not the work of a single hand and as pointed out by Professor Hopkins the crystallisation of its present form may be put between the 4th century B.C. and 4th century A.D., though the latter limit seems to be too late. We are not concerned in our present study with the external and internal evidences which have been impressively marshalled to prove the date of the *Mahābhārata* or more correctly a particular part of the *Mahābhārata*;

⁸ *Das Mahabharata also Epos und Rechtsbuch*, (1895) and *Genesis des Mahabharata* (1899).

⁹ The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 258.

neither we are concerned here with the revival of Brahminism apparent from the *Mahābhārata* with its insistence on the worship of Viṣṇu. The only purpose of this section is to show by the internal evidences from the *Sabhāparva* or to narrow it down still from the *Digvijaya* and the *Upāyana-parvas* which give a mass of geographical informations useful to determine the probable date of the composition of the *Sabhāparva*. Every piece of evidence will be taken up separately and discussed on its own merits, and then we shall try to reach a certain conclusion. The chronology has always been rather a controversial point in Indian history before the pre-Christian era and no theory or conclusion has escaped criticism. Whatever views I propose to place before the scholars are certainly far from dogmatic and I would certainly welcome corrections and criticisms.

The most important evidence which throws a considerable light on the date of the *Sabhāparva* comes from Arjuna's expedition (MB, II, 23-25). His campaign as we shall see later on could be divided into two parts or may be three parts. We are only concerned here with that section where Arjuna having conquered the Daradas with the Kāmbojas (II, 24.22) proceeded towards the north and having conquered the robber tribes, subdued the Lohas, Parama-Kāmbojas, the Rṣikas and Paramṛṣikas. I give the full text below noting the variant readings where necessary

ग्रहीत्वा तु बलं सारं फल्गुचोत्सृज्य पाण्डवः

दरदान्सह काम्बोजैरजयत्याकशासनिः 22

प्रागुत्तरां दिशं ये च वसन्त्याश्रित्य दृश्यवः

निवसन्ति वने ये च तान्सर्वानजयत्प्रभुः 23

लोहान्परमकाम्बोजान्शुषिकानुत्तरानपि

सहितां स्तान्महाराज व्यजयत्याकशासनिः 24

The variants for परमकाम्बोजान् are :—लोकान्, मौकान् होलान्, लहान्परमकाम्बोजान्, पण्ड्यान्परमकाम्बोजान्, लंबकान्परमकाम्बोजान् etc. The variants for श्रुषि are इषि or इषी ।

ऋषिकेषु तु संग्रामो बभूवातिमयंकरः
 तारकामयसंकाशः परमर्षिक पार्थयोः 25
 शुकोदरसमपुख्यान्हयानघ्नौ समानयत्
 मयूरसदृशानन्यानुभयानेवचापरान् 26
 स विनिर्जित्य संग्रामे हिमवन्तं सनिष्कुटम्
 श्वेत पर्वतमासाद्यन्यवसत्पुष्पमः 27

In these verses we get some very important information about the situation of the R̥ṣikas and Paramar̥ṣikas. To locate them properly we should try to follow the route taken by Arjuna. After having conquered the Bāhlikas (M.B. II, 23, 21) or the Bactrians in Northern Afghānistān, he subdued the combined Darada and Kamboja forces (M.B., II, 23, 22). The crux of the problem is the proper identification of Kamboja to which we shall come later on. It is not the Chhibhal country or Kabul but as proposed by Pandit Jayachandra Vidyalamkāra Badakshān and the Galcha speaking part of the Parmirs. Now what route Arjuna took from the Bāhlika country? The key to this problem lies in the proper identification of Valgu. This may be identified with the river Baghlan. In their explorations of the Oxus countries Wood and Lord investigated the route which lay directly south from Kunduz by the river of that name to its junction with the Baghlan. Thence following Baghlan to its head they crossed by the Murgh Pass into the Valley of the Andarab and diverging eastward they adopted the Khawak Pass to reach the Panjishir Valley and so to Kabul. No great difficulties were encountered on the route, involving only two passes between the Oxus and the Kabul, the Murgh (7,400 ft.) and Khawak (11,650 ft.) and it undoubtedly possesses many advantages as the modern popular route between Kabul and Badakshān.¹⁰ Arjuna probably followed this route on his return journey to the Śvetaparvata which may be identified with the Safid-koh whose rugged ilex-covered spurs centre on the

¹⁰ Holdich, *The Gates of India*, pp. 434-35.

giant peaks of Pirghal and Shuidar, overlooking the plains of Afghānistān towards Ghaznī.¹¹ Arjuna however in his march towards the Paramakāambojas and the Rṣikas left the Baghlan route which might have led him to Kabul and proceeded towards the north, and in the ensuing battle defeated the Kāambojas and the Daradas, who probably came to help their allies through the Dora Pass, which is the chief pass over the Hindukush, directly connecting India (through Chitral) with Badakshān.¹² The next stage in his campaign took him to the north-eastern direction (*prāguttarām diśam*) (M.B., II, 24, 23) where the robber tribes (*dasyavaḥ*) having obtained asylum (*āśritya*) lived, and also the tribes living in the forest. These were conquered. Apparently these robber tribes were the descendants of the Eastern Iranian speaking ancestors of the Wakhānis, Shighnis, Roshanis and the Sarikolīs of the Pāmīr plateau. Then comes the most important section of the campaign—the conquest of the allied forces (*sahitān*) of the Lohas, Paramakāambojas and the Rṣikas of the north or the Great Rṣikas (M.B., II, 24). The Paramakāambojas have been identified by Prof. Jayachandra Vidyālamkāra¹³ with the Galcha speaking Yāghnobis who live in the Valley of Yaghnob at the head water of the Zarafshān river, a tract of country considerably to the north of the Pāmīrs and separated from them by the hill states subordinate to Bokhārā,¹⁴ though he has not stated his reasons for this identification. The same writer has suggested the identification of the Yüe-chī's with the Rṣikas.

The problem of identifying the Rṣikas with the Yüe-Chi is not a new one and is closely connected with the problem of Ārsī the language of the Śakas in the

¹¹ *Imperial Gaz.*, Vol. I, p. 10.

¹² Holdich, *loc. cit.*, p. 427.

¹³ *Bhāratbhūmi aur uske nivāsi*, p. 313. V.S. 1987.

¹⁴ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pp. 455-56.

Central Asian texts, the Ārsī Kanta, i.e., Ārsī tongue.¹⁵ It has been also suggested to connect Yüe-chi with Ārsī on certain phonetic peculiarities in the Chinese which used *üe* to understand *ri*, *ūr* and *o* in the transliteration of Indian words.¹⁶ Klaproth derived the Yü-chī from Yetes. Franke takes them to be the people of Yet or Get; Baron von Stael Holstein infers a pronunciation Kurshi or Gurshi, and F. W. K. Müller maintains that Yüe-chī is probably a rendering of the same word which we have learned to know as Ārsī as a designation of the language of the Tocharians the view to which Franke has subsequently agreed.¹⁷ The battle royal over Ārsī has not yet finished. H. W. Bailey¹⁸ derives Ārsī from the Sanskrit Araya. Pelliot¹⁹ rejects the derivation of Ārsī from Rṣika as Pandit's etymology and the same author²⁰ finds the rejection of Ārsī as convincing.

Before we advance our own views about the Rṣikas it would be better to state briefly the facts already known about the migration of the Yüe-chī, and then try to reconcile it if possible with the information supplied by the *Mahābhārata* about the Rṣikas.

The Yüe-chī first appear in history in Kansu province in the north-west of China, where they had apparently been living for some time. According to Chang Ki'en before they were defeated by the Hiungnu they lived between Tun-huang (now Sha-Chou) and K'i-lien (a hill south-west of Kan-chóu-fu).²¹ A struggle between the Yüe-Chī and the Hiung-nu, the progenitors of the later Huns, culminated in 176 or 174 B.C. in the complete

¹⁵ Sieg, SBAW, 1918, pp. 560 ff. quoted by Sten Konow (CII, II, p. viii, fn. 3).

¹⁶ Hirth, *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1886, p. 220.

¹⁷ CII, II, p. lix.

¹⁸ Ttaugara, BSOS, VIII, 1936, pp. 883, 905 *sqq.*

¹⁹ JA, 1934, p. 23.

²⁰ *To'ung-Pao*, XXXII, 1936, p. 265.

²¹ Hirth, JAOS, 1917, pp. 96-97.

defeat of the Yüe-chi. They were compelled to quit Kan-su and set out on their long journey westward. Part of the horde called by the Chinese Siao-Yüe-Chi, in contrast to the larger body the Ta Yüe-Chi unwilling to hazard and the long journey turned southward and settled into the Tarim Valley.²² The main horde going westward fell on the Wu-sun, killed the king, occupied their grazing ground and were again driven away by the Hiungnu. Still going westward they attacked Sai-Wang some time before 160 B.C., about the lake Issyk-Kul and the plain northward of the Alexandrovsky range and the Sai-Wang fled southward. Their subsequent movement will be examined later on. But in or just before 160 B.C. the Yüe-Chi were again attacked by the son of Wusun King with the help of the Hiung-nu and were driven out of the Sai-Wang country. The main body of the Yüe-Chi again went westward. After 160 B.C. the Yüe-Chi disappear for a generation reappearing shortly before 128 B.C.

What ultimately turned them southward is unknown. It seems that the intervening years between 160—128 B.C. were spent in fighting to settle down somewhere. Between 141—128 B.C. they crossed Jaxartes westward of Ferghana went southward and finished off the Greek Kingdom of Bactria. They were living north of the Oxus²³ when Chang K'ien visited them not having yet moved across the Oxus into Bactria though they had conquered it. The chronological sequence in the great movement of Yüe-Chi has been arranged by Hirth.²⁴ In the following sequence: In 176 the Yüe-Chi were defeated by the Hiung-nu for the second time; in 165 B.C. Lau Shang, Mau-tun's successor annihilated the Yüe-Chi and the Yüe-Chi fled westward; in 164 B.C. they settled down

²² Ib. 1917, p. 97.

²³ Hirth, p. 97.

²⁴ Ib. pp. 133-34.

near Issyk-kul driving away Sai-Wang who migrated southward and became the rulers of Kipin; in 160 B.C. the Wusun drove away the Yüe-Chi and occupied their territory near Issyk-kul. It is necessary to remember these dates and the Yüe-Chi settlement near Issyk-kul to which we will have to return presently.

Now let us return for a moment to the nomad conquest of Bactria. It has been a practice with the older writers to attribute the fall of Bactria to Sakas, though the statement of Chang K'ien who attributes the conquest to Ta Yüe-Chi should have been taken as final. This mistake according to W. W. Tarn²⁵ who has made the latest contribution to the problem of the nomad conquest of Bactria, arose from a simple passage of Strabo (XI, 511) in which he says that the Sakas occupied Bactria. But as the context proves he is talking of the Achaemenid times or probably the 7th century B.C., when the great Saka invasion well-known from the Assyrian sources which had played its part in the fall of Ninevah and had penetrated as far as Cappadocian Pontus.

Apollodorus attributes the conquest of Bactria to four nomad peoples namely Asii, Pasiani, Tochari and Sacarauli (Strabo. XI, 511). The 'Trogus Source' (Trogus Prol. XLI) formally attributes it to two—Asiani and Saraucæ, though subsequently he mentions Tochari. Taking the Trogus source first one of the two names must represent Chang K'ien's Yüe-Chi and as Saraucæ are out of the question the Asiani should represent the Yüe-Chi (Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 284). The form Asiani is an Iranian adjectival form of Apollodorus' Asii which is the substantival form; the Asii are therefore Yüe-Chi. This identification of Yüe-Chi with Asii lead to the great controversy.²⁶ From 1918—36 it was further believed that

²⁵ *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 283; London, 1938.

²⁶ Sten Konow, CII., II, pp. iviii Sq; T. Pelliot, JA, 224, 1934, p. 25, n2.

the Arśi of the Central Asian texts was the language spoken by the Tocharians; its very existence was also denied. It has, however, been shown (Tarn, *Loc. cit.*, p. 285) that the Hellenistic world knew of a people called Arśi even if Central Asia did not. The name occurs in a curious list of people in Pliny.²⁷ This only proves that Pliny was acquainted with the original name of the Asii but not knowing where to place them put them in the refuge list.

Another name which must be considered, as it has definite connection with the Paramarṣika of Arjuna's campaign (M.B., II, 24, 25) is Pasiani. In the conquest of Bactria Apollodorus speaks of a Saka tribe Pasiani. As Asiani is the adjectival form of Asii so Pasiani should be a similar adjectival form of a name Pasii or Pasi; and there is no doubt that this name is Parsii of Greek geographers.

Tarn locates the Pasii west of the Arius, Tapuria and Traxiane²⁸ and tries to identify them with Paras-Parsua—the Persian tribes who played an important rôle in the history of Iran. As the house of the ancient Persians was Eranvez identified with Khawarizm Tarn suggests that the Parsii-Parsua stayed behind in Eranvez, which their kinsmen migrated south and later on played their part in the eviction of the Greeks from Bactria. This argument is rather speculative.

Now let us examine at some length as to what the *Mahābhārata* has to say about the Rṣikas, though unfortunately its information is rather meagre. In the *Adiparva* (M.B., I. 61. 30) the homage of the eponymous Rṣika King is traced from Candra and Diti. In this connection it is interesting to note Prof. Charpentier's²⁹ suggestion that the word Yüe-Chi could be translated as 'the moon clan.' It is difficult to trace the connection of

²⁷ VI, 16, 48, sqq.

²⁸ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 292.

²⁹ ZDMG, 71, 1917, p. 375.

the *Ṛṣikas* with the Moon God, except the *Mahābhārata*. The *Ṛṣikas* again appear in the *Udyogaparva* (V. 4. 15) where they are mentioned in the company of the *Śakas*, *Pahlavas*, *Daradas*, *Kāmbojas*, and *Paścima-anūpakas*. It is worthy to note that here as well they are placed side by side with the *Kambojas*. In the variant text of *Kāmboja* (D'jā) *ṛṣika-rājñamea* the adjectival form of *Ṛṣika* is also found. We shall discuss its import later on. Then we meet the *Ṛṣikas* in the north-easterly direction of *Kamboja* country (M.B., II, 24, 24-23) or *Badakshān*. In the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute's* edition of the *Sabhāparva* the *Prākṛt* form of the *Ṛṣika* namely *Iṣi* and *Iṣī* have been noted among the variants. These forms are very important as we shall presently see that the Greek historians were acquainted with both the Sanskrit and *Prākṛt* forms of the *Ṛṣika*. In another couplet (M.B., II. 24, 25) describing a battle between *Paramarṣika* and *Arjuna*, the adjectival form of the substantival form *Paramārṣika* is found. Thus we find that the *Mahābhārata* knew of the *Ṛṣika*, its adjectival form *Ārṣika*, its *Prākṛt* forms *Iṣika* and *Iṣīka*, and the adjectival form of *Paramarṣika*—*Paramārṣika*.

Now coming to the Greek forms of one of the nomad tribes who conquered Bactria and who have been identified with the *Yüe-Chi* by Tarn, we meet *Asii* in *Apollodorus*.³⁰ *Asiani* in the *Trogus Source*³¹ is the adjectival form of the *Asii* of *Apollodorus*. Tarn has also hunted out the original *Arsi* from *Pliny* (VI, 16, 48 Sqq). It is not difficult now to see that the Greek *Asii* is from Sanskrit *Isi* or *Isi*, and probably the Greek *Arsi* may be derived from Sanskrit *Ārṣika*.

Now we come to *Pasiani*, another tribe who invaded Bactria according to *Apollodorus*. Tarn as we have already shown by a long winded argument tries to prove that

³⁰ Strābo, XI, 511.

³¹ Trogus Prolog. XLI.

they were Parsa—Parsua who played such an important part in the history of Iran. The Pasiani according to him were the remnant of these of tribes in the Eranvej. But we have in the *Sabhāparva* a tribe of the Paramaṛṣikas whose adjectival form Paramāṛṣika (II, 24, 25) has been mentioned. Could we not identify the Pasiani of Apollodoros with them? Apparently they were a separate tribe being the member of the Yüe-Chi clan with whom they fought against Arjuna.

Now reverting to the campaign of Arjuna we find that the first part of his campaign was devoted to the reduction of the Kāmbojas of Badakshān. Then he proceeded in the north-easterly direction and reduced the robber tribes (M. B. II, 24, 23) and the Lohas, Paramakāmbojas and finally the Ṛṣikas (II. 24, 24). A glance at the map of eastern Afghānistān and adjacent countries should convince us that the Lohas and Kambojas and the robber tribes must have been settled in the country which is represented now by the Tadzhik Soviet Social Republic which till recently was divided in the Russian Wakhan, Shighnān, Roshan and Darwānz etc. It is known that the Yüe-Chi were in 160 B.C. or thereabout in the region of the Lake Issyk-Kul from where they were driven out by the Hiung-nu and Wu-sung. It seems probable that the author or authors of the *Sabhāparva* have very cleverly transposed the doing of the Hiung-nu to Arjuna. The union of the Yüe-chi and the Eastern Iranian speaking republics on the Oxus was natural in the face of common danger; moreover there were close ethnic relation between Tajiks and the Yüe-chi both of whom came from the common Iranian stock; this must have further cemented the bond of friendship.

Another very important point which should not escape our attention is the adjective Uttara used in connection with the Ṛṣikas (*Uttarān-ṛṣikān*, II, 24, 24), which denotes here the sense of superiority or greatness and which is an exact equivalence of the Ta Yüe-Chi as oppos-

ed to the Sieou Yüe-Chi or little Yüe-Chi. After all the Sanskrit geographers were not so fantastic or ignorant as it is generally supposed.

In the *Upāyanaparva* (*Sabhāparva*, Chapters 47 & 48) the allusions to the Śakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas, Cīnas, Hūṇas and the order in which they are described, and their relative positions determinable by the Chinese sources also throw considerable light on the date of the *Sabhāparva*. In a couplet (*M.B.*, II, 47, 19) the following order is given:—Cīna, Hūna Śaka Oḍra, the inhabitants of the mountainous country (*parvātāntaravāsinaḥ*); at another place Śaka, Tukhāra, Kaṅka (*M.B.*, II 47, 26) in their respective order are mentioned; at a third place Śaunḍika, Kukkura and Śaka (*M.B.*, II 48, 15) appear. But before we take up the discussion any further it would be better to know something about the history of the Śakas and other tribes mentioned above.

We need not bother ourselves with the earlier references to Śakas in Herodotus pointing their home in the plains east of the Caspian and north of Jaxartes in the Pamir country, to the north of Hindūkush and east of Bactria and Sogdiana and later on Seistan, and the allusions to the Saka *Tigrakhauda*, Haumavarka and Tardarya the last living on the east of the Caspian Sea as mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius³² as these Sakas lived at a time with which we are not concerned.

In the Chinese annals they are known as Sai and in the oldest sources they are spoken of as Sai-wang. Sometimes before 160 B.C. they were driven off from their own home by the Yüe-Chi who were in their turn driven out by Wu-sun whose settlements according to Prof. Franke, extended from Urumchi to the west of Issik-Kul, from the Dzungarian desert and down towards Tarim.³³ The Ts'ien Han Shu³⁴ speaks of several Sai states. It seems

³² Konow, *CH.* II, pp. XVII—XVIII.

³³ *Ib.*, p. XIX.

³⁴ A. Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, *J. R. Anthro So.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

that they were greatly affected by the great nomadic movement in the second century B.C.

A laconic statement in Ts'ien Han Shu states that the Sai-wangs after their defeat by the Yüe-Chi went southwards and made themselves masters of Kipin.³⁵ The routes over which they passed was the Hien-fu (the hanging passage) which according to M. Chavannes is the Bolar route through the Yasin Valley by which the travellers went to Wakhan, then to Indus and further to Kashmir or Udyāna.³⁶ According to Sten Konow however, the Kipin country comprised the Swat valley and it extended westward towards Arachosia; whether it extended to Kabul is uncertain. The Saka occupation of Kipin is further supported by the description of Sha—mi, the present Mastuj by Yuan Chwang which mentions that the king of that country was of Śākya race. Sten Konow also quotes *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (V. 960) of Hemacandra in which the Lampākās are said to be *murunḍas* which shows that even at a comparatively late period the memory of the rule of the Saka Murunḍas had been preserved. This theory of the Saka occupation of Kipin has been rejected.³⁷ Their main movement, impeded by the Yavana power in Kabul, according to the *Cambridge History*, would naturally be westwards in the direction of Herat and thence southwards to Seistan.

A novel suggestion has been put forward by Tarn³⁸ which deserves our consideration. According to him the Sai-wang flight southward, which more correctly should mean south-west, would take them across Jaxartes to Ferghana. At this stage, they must have ceased to be a hoard as the Chinese literature does not mention them. It is probable that some joined Ka'ng-kiu whose grazing ground was the Tashkant plain, but those who went to

³⁵ Wylie, *loc. cit.*, p. 34.

³⁶ CII, II, p. XXIII.

³⁷ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 567.

³⁸ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 278.

Ki-pin probably joined the Sacaraucae, who occupied Khojend and the Steppes west of it, for it does not appear how otherwise they could have reached India. The remainder of the Sai-wang horde settled in the Greek provinces of Ferghana—their name mixing up with the name of the Province which in Chinese was Ta-yuan. There they set up the Saka or rather nomad government which Chang K'ien found in 128 B.C.; they are represented as distinct from the Kang-kiu, but on good terms with them.

The Tocharians have also received much attention. The scholars have generally occupied Marquart's identification of Ta-hia with Tu-ho-lo a designation met in the history of Northern Wei³⁹ (A.D. 386-556). But many scholars from Richtofen to Herzfeld have held that the Tochari were the Yüe-Chi. The word has been identified with the Thagouroi of Ptolemy (VI, 16, 5) on the silk route; the Chinese knew of remnants of the Togara in Kan-su in the second century B.C.; the name occurs in or about Kan-su in Tibetan texts; and the same name *taugara* for a town in Kan-su is found in a document in the Khotan Saka with date equivalent to as late as 800 A.D.⁴⁰ It follows that the Tochari in Bactria as mentioned by Apollodorus came from Kan-su, but the Chinese historians say that Yüe-chi came to Bactria at that time. Again we know from Apollodorus and Pliny that while there were no Tocharis in the Tarim basin in the reign of Euthydemus (died 190 B.C.) there were Tochari there later at the date of some source of Pliny (VI. 55), and here again we learn from the Chinese sources that the little Yüe-Chi came and settled there sometime not long after 174 B.C.; and the Indian writers called them by the same name Tokhāra.⁴¹ Finally Ptolemy unknowingly locates Tochari at several places where the Yüe-Chi are known to have been on their

³⁹ CII, II, Ivii.

⁴⁰ Tarn, loc. cit., pp. 285-86.

⁴¹ Sylvain Lévi, J.A., 1897, I, p. 10; 1933, p. 26.

journey. Thagourai in Kan-su, Takoraioi north of Imaos, Tagourai near lake Issyk-Kul, Tachoroi in Sogdiana and Tocharoi in Bactria which alone should be conclusive.⁴² The Yüe-Chi hoard therefore was composed of two different peoples who appear in the Greek sources as Asii or Tochari. The Trogus source gives out the relationship where he says that the Asii are lords of the Tochari.⁴³

The race and the language of the Tochari is a difficult problem. It was once supposed that they brought it from Europe and spoke the Centum language with the Italo-Celtic affinities discovered in Chinese Turkestan. To-day two dialects said to be A and B the languages of two states in northern part of Chinese Turkestan A of Agni-Karachar (Turfan) and B of Kucha are known, and that none of these languages could be the language of historical Tochari, who invaded Bactria as their name is aspirated while dialect A and B have no aspirates.

The Kaṅkas (M.B. II, 47, 26) may probably be identified with the Ka'ng-Kiu⁴⁴—the inhabitants of Sogdiana, placed in the company of Śakas and Tukhāras. The Ka'ng-kiu according to Chang-kien were under the political influence of Yüe-Chi⁴⁵ on the south and on the east under that of Hiung-nu.

The relative position of the Śakas, if we take them to be settled in Ta-yuan, and the Kankas is settled as their country was conterminus.⁴⁶ The Tokharas who were probably a component tribe of the Great Yüe-Chi were perhaps encamped further to the south. It is therefore clear that the arrangement followed in the *Sabhāparva* in placing the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas gives their relative position in the second century B.C. It is significant

⁴² Tarn, *loc. cit.*, 286.

⁴³ *Trogus Pro.* XLII, Tarn, *loc. cit.*, 286.

⁴⁴ Hirth, *loc. cit.*, p. 96.

⁴⁵ *Ib. loc. cit.* p. 96.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*

that the Rṣikas are missing in the list. The only conclusion which could be drawn from this is that after their defeat in 160 B.C. when they had moved towards the west, the Tukhāras were sent as vanguards and the information contained in this particular passage could be dated between 160 B.C. and 128 B.C. the year in which Yüe-Chi defeated the Greek power of Bactria. A provisional date of 150 B.C. may be assigned to this state of affairs.

Another passage which is quoted below also confirms our view that the *Sabhāparva* was probably composed in the second century B.C. The couplet in question is from the *Digvijayaparva* in which Sahadeva having conquered the Pāṇdyas, the Draviḍas, the Coḍras, Kerlas, Andhras, Lavaṇas, Kaliṅgas and the Uṣtrakarṇikas (M.B., II, 28, 48) subdued Antākhi and Romā by the despatch of the political missions only.

अन्ताखीं चैत रोमांच यवनानां पुरं तथा

दूतैरेव वशे चक्रे करं चैनानदापयत् M.B., II, 28, 49

Here Antākhi is substituted by the editor as correct text, and probably he is right.

Before coming to Sahadeva's embassy to Antioch it is better for us to know certain broad facts in the history of the Seleucid kings. Alexander died in 323 B.C. and Seleucus I assumed the satrapy of his eastern empire. It was not till 311 B.C. that he was free to deal with his distant provinces. The date of his Indian expedition is stated to be 304 or 305.⁴⁷ He was defeated by Candragupta Maurya and had to transfer to his adversary the Satrapies of Arachosia (Kandhar) and the Paropanisadae (Kabul), with at least some portion of Gedrosia (Balūchistān) and Aria (Herat). In 293 he became joint king with his son Antiochus.⁴⁸ He was assassinated in 283 B.C. Seleucus was the founder

⁴⁷ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 430.

⁴⁸ *Ib.* p. 432.

of the city of Antioch—a city in Syria described as Epidaphnes or as “on the Orantes” to distinguish it from the fifteen other Greek towns which like itself owed their foundation to Seleucus Nicator, and their names to his father Antiochus.⁴⁹ The probable date of the foundation of the city is 300 B.C.⁵⁰

In the time of Antiochous I (283—261) and even earlier the friendly relation with the Mauryas continued. Athenaeus (1, 32, 18 D) has preserved the story of certain drugs sent as present by Candragupta I to Seleucus I and it is to the same writer (XIV, 67, 652 I and 653A) that we an anecdote of how Chandra-gupta's son Bindusāra wrote to Antiochus I requesting him to buy and send him some wine, figs and a sophist to teach him to argue. Antiochus replied sending the figs and wine but not the sophist who, he wrote, were not saleable. The intercourse was not only confined to these civilities. We know of Megasthenes' missions to the court of Chandragupta, and Daimachus of Plataea also went on mission or missions from Antiochus to Bindusāra. Pliny (His Nat, VI, 58) also speaks of a mission of certain Dionyisius sent by Ptolemy Philadelphus (285—246 B.C.), which was sent probably to Bindusāra or Aśoka.⁵¹

On the Indian side Aśoka (274—237—6 B.C.) as mentioned in the Thirteenth Rock Edict sent embassies to Antiochus II (261 B.C.), Ptolemy (Philadelphus of Egypt (285—247 B.C.), Antigonus (Gonatas of Macedon 278—239), Magas (of Cyrene, died 258) and Alexander (of Epirus 278—258?) probably in 258 B.C.⁵² Later on the contact was renewed when Antiochus III (221—187 B.C.) in 206 B.C. in his short campaign in India met the Mauryan Sophagasenius or Subhāgasena⁵³ who presented

⁴⁹ *Encyclopaedia Br.*, Vol. I cf. Antioch.

⁵⁰ JAOS, 58, p. 265.

⁵¹ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 432-33.

⁵² *Ib.* p. 502.

⁵³ *Ib.* p. 512.

him elephants. Antiochus IV (175—163 B.C.), though his direct contact with India is not mentioned, was the moving spirit behind Eucratides who overthrew Demetrius.⁵⁴

Now coming to the embassies sent by Sahadeva we are faced with a dilemma as to the period in which the embassy to Antioch was sent. Antioch was probably founded in about 300 B.C. and since then it had continuous friendly relation with the Mauryas which we have already described. The embassy was peaceful and not in connection with any war. Does it therefore reflect the embassy of Aśoka to Antiochus II in 258? But the date is too early on the strength of the evidences which we have already produced about the probable date of the *Sabhāparva*, though of course it is possible that in this couplet reference is being made to some previous event. Another point which should be marked is that at the time of the embassy the independent states of Antioch as the capital of free Seleucid state was recognised. This independence was greatly reduced after the battle of Magnesia in 187 B.C. when the Romans won over the forces of Antiochus III. Antiochus IV, though he was pulled sharply from time to time by the Romans to remind him of his allegiance to Roman State tried to reassert the waning power of the Seleucids. After his death in 163 B.C. Seleucid power declined rapidly. Antiochus VII (138 B.C.—129) the last strong representative of the old royal house fell fighting with the Parthians⁵⁵ in 129. After him follow a long line of rival kings fighting over what remained of the Seleucid Kingdom. The possibility is therefore that the embassy referred to may be dated either in the reign of Antiochus III (221—187 B.C.) or Antiochus IV (171—163 B.C.)

The reference to Rome or its exact Latin feminine

⁵⁴ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, Chap. V.

⁵⁵ *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. VIII, pp. 529-30.

form Romā is somewhat difficult to explain in the 2nd century B.C. as no Indian embassy reached the Romans until Augustus in the 1st century B.C.⁵⁶ It seems however possible that the Indians who had frequent intercourse with the Seleucids of Syria were acquainted with the name of Rome and perhaps also with its growing power, and the author of the Mahābhārata could not restrain himself from adding the name of Rome in the conquests of the Pāṇḍavas. But this is a pure suggestion and must be treated as such.

Another allusion which is of some importance in determining the date of the *Sabhāparva* refers to the conquest of the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas in Madhyamikā by Nakula in his expedition to the west (M.B., II, 29, 7). The first line of the verse (Ib.) says, तथा मध्यमिकायांश्च वाट धानान्दिजानय 'and in Madhyamikā he conquered the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas'. The statement looks quite simple but its import is of considerable importance. The siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas was such a famous event in the second century B.C., in the reign of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, as to merit its being cited as a grammatical example by Patañjali. We shall return to the events presently. In this connection a few words about the Śuṅgas would not be out of place here.

The origin of the Śuṅgas is obscure, the word Śuṅga which denotes fig tree may perhaps be tribal. According to Pāṇini (IV, I, 117) they claimed to be the descendants of Bharadvāja, the Purohita of Divodāsa, the king of Titisus. They probably lived in the countries which under the Mauryan Empire were included in the viceroyalty of Ujjain.⁵⁷

We are not concerned here with the various events of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga's life. We are only concerned here

⁵⁶ *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, pp. 35—38.

⁵⁷ *The Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 518.

with the invasion of India by Demetrius with his generals Apollodotus and Menender and the siege of Madhyamikā by the Yavanas in his time.

This siege of Madhyamikā is supported to some extent by the grammarian Patañjali (a contemporary of the Śuṅga King, Puṣyamitra) who to illustrate the use of the imperfect tense (to denote an event which had recently happened) quotes the example.⁵⁸ 'The Yavana was besieging Sāketa : The Yavana was besieging Madhyamikā.' The siege of Madhyamikā is attributed to Apollodotus by Tarn⁵⁹ who concludes that the country was conquered and the Śibis⁶⁰ whose coins have been found at Nagarī near Chittor and whose original country was about Jhang in the Southern Panjab were brought and settled there by Apollodotus.⁶¹ This is however a pure speculation. The possibility is that the turmoil which must have followed in the wake of the Greek invasion compelled the Śibis to seek refuge elsewhere and their settlement at Madhyamikā probably was affected after the retirement of the Greeks. All these events must have happened by 175 B.C.⁶²

Now let us examine the information we get in the conquest of Madhyamikā by Nakula. The first important point is that the city must have been defended by the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas and that they were conquered. There is every possibility that the event here points to the siege of Madhyamikā, a town which has been identified with Nagarī near Chittor in Southern Rajputānā⁶³—the action being cleverly transferred from the Yavanas to Nakula. The probability is that the Śuṅgas were the

⁵⁸ Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* VII, p. 266.

⁵⁹ Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 150.

⁶⁰ *Ib.* p. 151.

⁶¹ Tarn, p. 151.

⁶² *Ib.* p. 156.

⁶³ For references, Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. cxxii-cxxv.

Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas as Vāṭa and Śuṅga both in Sanskrit mean Banyan tree. It is curious to note, however, that according to the *Manu-Smṛti* the Vāṭadhānas were the offspring of an outcaste Brāhmaṇa by a Brāhmaṇa mother (X, 21).

Lastly there is another list (M.B., II, 47, 19) in which the names of the Cīnas, Hūṇas, Śakas and Oḍras appear in a descending order. The appearance of the Hūṇas may at once make us jump to the conclusion that the text must be of the 5th century or later when the Indians to their cost came to know of the Hūns. But these are not the Hūṇas of the 5th century and neither their presence within the boundaries of India should be sought for. They probably represent the Hiung-nu settled on the borders of China, who drove away the Yüe-Chi and whose depredations caused the Han kings to build the Great Wall as a protection against their inroads. The order in which the tribes are mentioned here is quite appropriate. First come the great Chinese people then the Hūṇas or Hiung-nu from the Mongolian side, then the Saka tribes settled near Issyk-kul in the beginning of the second century B.C.⁶⁴ and then finally the Oḍras or the inhabitants of Swat about whom we shall have to say something later on. The mention of the Oḍras immediately after the Śakas probably points to the route which a section of the Sakas took after their defeat by the Yüe-Chi which landed them in Swat and thence to Ki-pin. In this list the author of the *Sabhāparva* seems to emphasise the ethnic importance of the races in their proper order.

The foregoing discussion so far has tended to prove by various internal evidences to throw light on the probable date of the *Sabhāparva*. The geographical positions of the Ṛṣikas, Śakas, Tukhāras, Kaṅkas, Hūṇas, Cīnas, etc., have been discussed already. The light which is thrown by the allusions to Antakhī and Romā (which show

⁶⁴ CII, II, p. XIX.

connection with the Greek and the Roman world) on the probable date of the *Sabhāparva* has been further increased by the mention of *Madhyamikā*. Weighing all the evidences it may be said that the events referred to in the *Sabhāparva* range between 184 B.C. to 148 B.C., i.e., the period of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga.

That was the period of the Brāhmanical revival. It is perhaps in this period that the Pāṇḍus the heroes of the *Mahābhārata* first appear in a *vārtika* or supplementary rule to Pāṇini (IV, I, 44) attributed to Kātyāyana (180 B.C.). It is also in the second century B.C. that we find unmistakable allusions to what we may call an epic poem in the account of the *Mahābhāṣya*, which alludes to the poetic treatment of the epic and speaks of the epic characters.⁶⁵ It seems that this was the formative period of the epic, though nobody need have any doubt that the story existed in some form or the other long before it as mentioned in *Āśvalāyana Grhyasūtra* (III, 3, 1) which mentions Bhārata.

III

After the conquest of the four quarters by the Pāṇḍava brothers the proper atmosphere for the *Rājasūya* sacrifice was created. The rulers from all the quarters of India including Duryodhana were invited to attend the *Rājasūya*. One could easily conjure up the vision of such a function by witnessing the installation ceremony of a Hindu ruling chief of some standing. There are Yajñas to which the Brāhmaṇas throng, then there are processions in which all the wealth of the state is paraded, then there are *darbars* in which the Sardārs and Jagīrdārs make presents to their overlord. This ceremony in the ancient times must have been presented with the pomp and show many times multiplied. As reported

⁶⁵ *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 253.

by Duryodhana, the tribute payers simply thronged at the gates of Yudhiṣṭhira, and such was the court etiquette that even the people of standing could gain admission with difficulty. A touch of barbaric splendour was added by the presence of semi-barbaric tribes of the Himālayas, the Hindūkush and beyond. There were also the Santals, the Kirātas, and the Śbaras from the eastern and central India. Vying with them were the long established states of the Panjāb and other parts of India who had brought horses, elephants, shawls, precious stones, gold, silver, furniture etc., as gifts. As is natural Duryodhana the scion of an ancient but impoverished family was fired with jealousy at such display of wealth. The report of the Rājasūya assembly which he made to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, his father, is of great import from the point of view of the historical geography of India. In the following pages an attempt will be made to determine the locations of various states with a full description of the presents which they brought:—

Vāṭadhāna (M.B., II, 45, 24). Literally the word *vaṭā* means made or consisting of the Banyan or Indian fig tree or its wood. In the *Mahābhārata Ādiparva* (I, 61, 58) the name has been derived from an eponymous king Vāṭadhāna who was of the same Krodhavaśa group as the eponymous kings of Vāhlikas, Madras and Sauvīras, etc. (I, 61). In the *Udyogaparva* (V, 5, 24) it is mentioned that they had assembled on the side of the Kauravas. In the *Sabhāparva* (II, 29, 7) their country is mentioned to be Madhyamikā which has been indentified with Nagari near Chittor in southern Rajputānā, though their presence should not conclude that they were the original inhabitants of the place. At another place (M.B., II, 45, 24) the Vāṭadhāna Brāhmaṇas (*Brāhmaṇā Vāṭadhānāḥ*) said to be engaged in the profession of rearing cattle (*gomantaḥ*) had assembled collectively in hundreds (*śata-saṅghśaḥ*) with innumerable gifts at the palace of Yudhiṣṭhira. The word *śatasāṅgha* is probably significant pointing to the existence of more than one Vāṭadhāna

republican community. It may be pointed out here that Alexander in his campaign (Arrian VI, 7) on the Rāvi personally lead his army against a city of the Brāhmaṇas, which has been identified by Cunningham with the old ruined town and fort of Atari which is situated twenty miles to the west-south-west of Tulumba, and on high-road to Multan, from which it is thirty miles distant.⁶⁶ Diodorus (XVII, 53) again speaks of the country of the Brāhmaṇas and a city called Harmatelia in connection with Alexander's campaign in Sind. The city has been identified by Cunningham as Brahmanābad which was situated on the old channel of the Indus forty seven miles to the north-east of Haidarābād, the Pātālā of the ancients. The original form of Harmatelia has been restored by Cunningham as Brahma-sthala.⁶⁷

Pargiter in his commentary on the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVIII, 38) places the country of the Vāṭadhānas on the east side of Satlaj southward from Firozpur.⁶⁸ But the probability is that they had more than one state under them, and we may, if the Brahmin republics of the Alexander's campaign were also Vāṭadhānas, place them in southern Panjāb, lower Sind, and Southern Rajputānā. Manu's (X, 21) condemnation of the Vāṭadhānas is understandable as they were following the duties of a Kṣatriya in-so-much so as they owned states and the Śūdras as they tended cattles—the duties directly in contravention to the mode of life laid down for the Brāhmaṇas in Hindu religion.

Kamboja (*Sabhāparva*, 24, 22; 45, 19-20; 47, 3-4)

The identification of the Kamboja country is of great importance, and before we take this up on the strength of literary and linguistic evidences it would be not out of place here to take up the various notices of Kamboja in literature.

⁶⁶ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 261-64.

⁶⁷ *Ib.*, 306-318.

⁶⁸ Pargiter, *Markaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 312.

There is no doubt that Kamboja was a very ancient country. As pointed out by Zimmer⁶⁹ in the *Vamśa Brāhmaṇa*,⁷⁰ Kamboja Aupamanyava is a pupil of Madragāra.⁷¹ This according to the authors of the *Vedic Index* point to a possible connection of the Madras or possibly Uttaramadras with the Kambojas who had probably Iranian as well as Indian affinities.⁷² No opinion has been expressed about their location.

Yāska (II, I, 3, 4) speaking of dialectic forms of Sanskrit says that *śavati* in the sense of "going" is used only in the language of the Kambojas while its derivatives *śava* is used in the language of the Aryas. *Śavati* does not occur in Sanskrit but is a good Iranian word. There is old Persian *śiya*, and the Avesta *śav*, *śavaite*, to go, Cf. Persian *śudan*, *Skṛcyav*. 'In other words,' as Grierson puts it, "the Kambojas were a barbarous tribe of North-western India who spoke Sanskrit with an infusion of Eranian words, to which they gave Indian inflexions, or else spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Eranian."

The derivation of the word racked the brain of the Pandits in ancient times as well. Continuing with Yāska (II, 1, 4)—*Kambojāḥ Kambalabhojāḥ Kamanīyabhojā vā Kambalaḥ Kamanīyam bhadati*—Kambojas are Bhojas with woollen shawls or handsome Bhojas etc., (wearing the Kambala to avoid cold adds the commentator). These fanciful derivations of the initials *kam* in Kamboja show the efforts of the ancients to solve the riddle. We shall have to come to this *kam* later on.

But before Grierson had shown the grammatical peculiarities of *śavati* as mentioned in Yāska Dr. Kuhn took

⁶⁹ *Alt Indische Leben*, p. 102.

⁷⁰ *Indische Studien*, IV, 371.

⁷¹ *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85.

⁷² *Ib.*, Vol. I, p. 138.

up the question of Kambojas.⁷³ He quotes a *gāthā* from a Jātaka (Fausboll, VI, 210) which establishes beyond reasonable doubt that the Kambojas were of Iranian extraction. The *gāthā* is quoted below with the commentary :—

कीटा पतङ्गा उरगा च मेका, हन्त्वा किमि सुञ्जति मन्त्रिका च एतो हि
धम्मा अनरियरूपा कंबोजकानं वितथा बहुन्नम् ।

“मच्चो सुञ्जनिति एतेसपि कंबोजरट्टवासीनं बहुन्नं अनरियानं धम्मा ।

“Those men are counted pure who kill frogs, worms, bees, snakes or insects as they will,—

These are your savage customs which I hate,—

Such as Kamboja hordes might emulate.”⁷⁴

With the Iranians the destruction of Ahramanic creatures was a duty. Mr. Nariman on the strength of Nepalese tradition⁷⁵ identifies Tibet with Kamboja.⁷⁶

In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (I, p. 213; IV, 222, 256, 261) Kamboja is mentioned with Gandhāra as one of the sixteen *Janapadas*. In the *Paramathadīpanī* on the *Petavatthu* (P. T. S. ed. p. 113) Dvārakā occurs with Kamboja. This a very important reference to which we shall revert in connection with the proper identification of Kamboja.

In Aśoka's inscription Kamboja is placed with Yona, Gandhāra, Laṭhika and Pitanaka (Dhauḷi, V, 4—योनकंबोज गंधालेसु लठिकपितेनकेसु एवा पि अने आपलंता मटिमयेसु, II, p. 87) Kamboja also appears at Girnar (V, 5. योन कम्बोजगंधारानं); at Mansera, the Yonas and Kambojas (XIII, 10 योनकम्बोजेषु) are coupled. In the Mathurā

⁷³ *Das Volker Kamboja bei Yaska*, p. 213, in the “*Avesta, Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies in honour of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Peshotanji Behramji Sanjana*, Strassbourg & Leipzig, 1904. This article has been summarised by Mr. G. K. Nariman in J.R.A.S. 1912 pp. 255-257.

⁷⁴ *Jāfalla*, Tr. VI, p. 110.

⁷⁵ Foucher, *Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 134.

⁷⁶ J.R.A.S., pp. 256-257.

⁷⁷ Hultsingh, CII, I, p. 87.

Lion Capital inscription of the chief queen of Mahākṣtrapa Rajula (early 1st century A.D.) Sten Konow reads the local name of the queen as Kamuīa meaning the Kambojan.⁷⁸

In the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparva*, 24, 22) they are placed with the Daradas, and in the *Udyogparva* (III, 186, 30) they are found in the company of the Śakas, Pulindas and the Yavanas, and in the *Bhīṣmaparva* (IX 373) they are found with the Cīnas. According to Manu, they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded through the extinct of sacred rites (*Manusmṛti*, X, 43-44); their evil customs are referred to in the *Śantiparva* (CCVII, 7560-61). In the *Harivamśa* (XIII, 763-64; 775-83) it is said that they were degraded by Sagara and ordered to shave their whole head after the fashion of the Yavanas:—

अर्धं शकानां शिरसौ मुण्डयित्वा विसर्जयत्—यवनानां शिरः सर्वं कञ्चोजानां तथैव च—पारदा मुक्तकेशाश्च पल्लवाः श्मश्रुधारणैः निःस्वाध्यादवषट्काराः कृतास्तेन महात्मना ।

It is obvious that the Hindus who by religion were ordained to have Śikhā or a top-knot looked askance towards those who had all their hair shaved; 'shaved like Yavanas (*Yavanamunḍa*), shaved like Kamboja (*Kambojamunḍa*)' were contemptuous terms in vogue since the days of Pāṇini (Gaṇpāṭha on *Mayūravāṇīśakādi* II, 1, 72).

Another distinguishing feature of the Kamboja country is its horses. In the *Sabhāparva* (II, 45, 20; 47, 4) the Kamboja horses are mentioned. The horses which the people of Kamboja brought as presentation to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B. II, 47, 4) numbered three hundred, they were varigated, spotted or speckled with black (*kalmāṣaiḥ*) or of Tittira breed (Tittira is the name of a country as well, M.B., VI, 2084, 3975) which were fattened on the fruits of *Salvadora Persica* (*pīlu*) and the nuts of *Terminalia Catappa* (*īṅgudaiḥ*). Their snouts are compared with the parrot's beak (*śukanāsikaiḥ*).

⁷⁸ CII, II, p. 36.

In the *Jātaka* stories the Kamboj mules (*Kambojaka assatara*, J. IV, 654, G. 242) are mentioned. In the *Mahāvastu* (ii, 185) the superb horses of Kamboja (*Kambojaka asvavara*) are praised. In the *Sumangalavilāsini* (Vol. I, p. 124) Kamboja is spoken as the home of horses (*Kambojo assānam āyatanam*). In the Jain *Uttarādhyana Sūtra* it is said that a trained Kamboja horse excelled all horses in speed and no noise could frighten it (*Jain Sūtras*, S. B. E., Part II, p. 47). The importance of the Kamboja horse was also recognised in the *Arthaśāstra* (*Arthaśāstra*, tr. p. 148, 3rd. ed.).

Besides the mares, the Kamboja people sent as presents to Yudhiṣṭhira cows and chariots (*rathayosidgavāśrasya*) (M. B., II, 45, 20) in good number and three hundred camels (II, 45, 20; 47, 4). They also sent as presents clothes made of sheep's wool and lynx furs decorated with gold (*aiḍānscailānvārṣadarṣāñjātarūpapariṣkrtān*) (M. B., II, 47, 3), shawls and skins (*prāvārājinamukhyānśca* (Ib.)). At another place the Kambojas are said to have presented very valuable blankets (*parārghyānapikambalān*) and the black, grey and red skins of the *Kadali* deer (*Kadali-Mṛgamokāni*) (M. B., II, 45, 19). The *Kadali* skin is described in the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 80-81) as of rough quality and two ft. long; its another quality the *Candrottara Kadali* which was only one third of its length had variegated moon-like spots. The smallness of the skin indicates that the *Kadali* skins were probably of a species of very small deer or some rodent.

By the foregoing details it must have been evident by this time that the Kambojas were important people, but strange as it may look the Indologists are not at all unanimous in the location of this country. Lassen doubtfully places Kamboja in the south of Kāshgar and east of modern Kāfiristān. (Ind. Alt., Map). According to Rhys Davids⁷⁹ it was a country in the extreme north-west of India with

⁷⁹ *Buddhist India*, p. 184.

Dvārakā as its capital. Vincent Smith⁸⁰ seems to place it among the mountains of Tibet and Hindūkush perhaps in agreement with the view of Mr. Foucher who quotes for his identification the Nepalese tradition.⁸¹ Sylvain Levi as we shall see later on identifies it with Kāfiristān (J. A. 1923), Prof. H. C. Rāychowdhury,⁸² on the strength of a passage from the *Karṇaparva* (VIII. 4, 5) places Rājapura as contiguous to Kamboja. He identifies Rājapura of the *Karṇaparva* with the Rājapura of Yuan Chwang⁸³ placed in the south or south-east of Kashmir. Thus we can see that willow-the-wisp Kamboja has been shifting grounds from Tibet to Afghānistān and even south of Kashmir. Prof. Jayacandra⁸⁴ however has discussed the question afresh and he has on the basis of very strong evidences identified Kamboja with Badakshān and the Pāmīrs. He takes up the theory of Pro. Raychowdhury first and shows that the Kamboja country which according to Prof. Raychowdhury was the ancient name of the present Chibhāl country in the south or south-east of Kashmir and also Hazara District reaching to the western confines of Kāfiristān, could not represent Kamboja as the ancient names for this joint tract was Uragā or Uraśā (the Arasces of the Alexandrian historians) for Hazara and Abhi-sāra for the modern Chibhāl. He then takes up the references from Yāska which assigns *śavati* in the sense 'to go' to the language of the Kambojas and shows that the Ghalcha language of the Pamirs and the countries on the head waters of the Oxus mostly contain the root *śavati* in the sense 'to go'. He also quotes the *Mahābhārata* to show that Kamboja and Vāhlika were often used as *Dvandva* compound and therefore their countries

⁸⁰ *Early History of India*, p. 134.

⁸¹ *Political History of India*, pp. 94-95.

⁸² *L' Iconographie bouddhique*, p. 134.

⁸³ Watters, I, p. 284.

⁸⁴ *Bhārat bhūmi aur uske nivāsi*, pp. 297-305 Samvat 1987.

were contumacious. As in our opinion Prof. Jayacandra has hit at the right identification his arguments need a little more elucidation and support.

We have already seen that most of the Indologists are convinced of the Iranian connections of the Kambojas, that leaves out Chibhāl country out of consideration. The consensus of opinion also seems to be in favour of locating Kamboja in the north-west of India. That the country was situated in the north even as late as the early seventh century is evident from the campaign of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya of Kashmir (695-732 A.D.). After conquering Avanti Lalitāditya entered the region of north (*Rājatarangīnī*, IV. 163). After defeating the Kambojas he deprived them of their horses (*Ib.*, IV. 165). The Tukhāras also abandoned their horses and fled (*Ib.*, IV. 166). Immediately after them the Bhauṭṭas and Daradas are mentioned and as the location of the Bhauṭṭas of Baltistān and Bolor and Dardistan is practically certain, the Kambojas could only be placed in Kāfiristān, Balkh-Badakshān and the Pamirs. There is another very important reference in Buddhist literature which should settle the location of Kamboja. As already mentioned in the *Paramatthadīpinī* (P. T. S., p. 113) a commentary on the *Petaratthu* the name of Dvāraka occurs with Kamboja. Naturally our mind is diverted to the famous Dvārakā in Kāṭhiawār and we begin feeling the absurdity of the reference. But there is very little doubt that the Dvārakā of the *Paramatthadīpinī* could be identified with the country of Darwaz—the exact Persian translation of Dvārakā in the north of Badakshān. Rhys Davids very nearly hits the nail when he describes Dvārakā as the capital of Kamboja, this is however not definite. The Tambyzoi (Ptolemy, VI. 11, 6) which Ptolemy places south of the Oxus is explained by M. Lévi as Kamboja only the initials going alteration—a distinguishing feature of the Austro-Asiatic languages. He has shown the exact parallel of the same phenomena occurring in the far east

in the same words as Kemboja and Semboja⁸⁵. Another very important reference in this connection is found in Idrisī, a medieval Arab geographer. After describing the beauties of Badakshān, the fertility of its soil, its fruits, its good breed of horses and mules and its richly coloured precious stones and the musk brought from Wakhān he mentions that Badakshān bordered on Qanauj (قنوج) a dependency of India.⁸⁶ There cannot be any doubt that the Qanauj of Idrisī is a mistake for Qabauj-Kamboj. The misplacing of the dots in the manuscripts of Idrisī's Geography is a common occurrence. Thus Bāmian is invariably written as Nāmian⁸⁷ and also Kāshān is written as Nāshān.⁸⁸ Apparently in the time of Idrisī the extent of the territory of the Kambojas had much decreased as Badakshān is mentioned as a separate state. Now the problem rises where to place the Kamboja of Idrisī: The pointer is towards Kafiristan—its Indian relationship pointing to the suzerainty of the Shāhis of Kābul.

The extent of the Kamboja country in ancient times could be fixed up perhaps by the countries which now speak Galchah languages—the speakers of Wakhī Shighnī, Sarīkolī, Zebakī, Sanglīchī or Ishkāshmi, Munjānī, Yūdghā and Yāghnobi perhaps represent the ancient Kāmbojas and Paramakāmbojas. In this connection it should be remembered that the members of the Galchah speaking group of languages are mainly confined to the Pāmīr country about the head-waters of the Oxus and are bounded on the west by Badakshān which probably in former times⁸⁹ also spoke Eastern-Iranian.

As mentioned in the *Raghuvamśa* (IV. 70) jewels were among the renowned products of the country.

⁸⁵ *J.A.*, 1923, p. 54.

⁸⁶ *La Geographic de al-Edresi*, Tr. Jaubert, Vol. I, pp. 478-79.

⁸⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 456, 474 etc.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 462.

⁸⁹ *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, pp. 456-57.

Marco Polo (1272—73) speaks of the azure and rubies of Badakshān which had become famous in the form of Balas.⁹⁰ Captain Wood in his journey to the source of the Oxus heard of the ruby mines twenty miles off Ishkāshm in the district called Gharan on the right bank of the Oxus river⁹² and he personally visited the lapis lazuli mines in the Kokcha Valley.⁹³ The silver mines of Badakshān were also famous. In the Arab times there were rich silver mines at Anderab and also mines at Wakhān⁹⁴.

It is interesting to note that there is an agricultural community in the Panjāb which is known as Kamboh, though it is difficult to say what relation they bear to the ancient Kambojians. There are various traditions current among the Kambohs about their original home; some hold that they hailed from Kashmir, some trace their origin to Garh Ghazni; some say that their ancestors sided with the Kurus in the great Mahābhārata battle, the majority with their chief Sodaksha were killed and the remnants settled at Nābhā; some hold that the word is a compound made of Iranian Kai and Anboh and therefore the tribe has descended from the Kai dynasty of Iran etc.⁹⁵ It is remarkable that most of the traditions point to the trans-Indus origin of the tribe and their Iranian connections. Perhaps they are the modern representatives of the ancient Kambojians of Pamirs.

Kārpāsika (M.B. II, 47, 7). It is a very rare word and as far as my information goes only appears once in the Mahābhārata. The historicity of the place however is fully established by its reference in an inscription at Sānchī. In the inscription No. 143, the gift of one Araha

⁹⁰ *Ib.*, p. 456.

⁹¹ Wood, *loc. cit.*, p. XXXIII.

⁹² *Ib.*, p. 206.

⁹³ *Ib.*, p. 171.

⁹⁴ W. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, pp. 65, 67. 1928.

⁹⁵ Rose, *A Glossary of the tribes and castes of the Panjab and N.W.F.*, Vol. II, pp. 443-44.

from Kārpāsī-grāma is mentioned.⁹⁶ The rarity of the word which is not repeated in Sāñchī inscriptions perhaps points to the great distance of the Kārpāsika country and the difficulties of communication between India and that country.

As the *Mahābhārata* is silent as regards the direction and situation of this country let us examine in detail whether any other source speaks about the country. Happily the author of *Fan yu tsa ming*, a Sanskrit-Chinese lexicon⁹⁷ of Li-yen (713, died between 789-95) comes to our rescue. For Kip-in or Kapiśa, the modern Kāfiristān Li-yen gives the Sanskrit equivalent Karpiśaya, the correct form of which according to Bagchi should be Kapiśaya,⁹⁸ no reasons, however, have been assigned by him for correcting this reading which in our view is correct—the Karpiśaya and Kapiśa being two different spellings of the same word. A fuller account of Ki-pin is needed to determine its identification with Kārpāsika.

It was a belief of the older Sinologists that Ki-pin in the time of Han and Wei period denoted Kashmir, and in T'ang period it was identified with Kapiśa⁹⁹ or the country drained by the northern tributaries of the Kabul river. In the T'ang period there can be no doubt that Ki-pin and Kapiśa denoted the same locality.¹⁰⁰ Sten Konow has examined in detail the identification of Ki-pin in Han and Wei periods specially by Lévi¹⁰¹ who bases his argument on certain Chinese works which identify Ki-pin with Kashmir. His argument may be summed up as follows: In the old annals which distin-

⁹⁶ The Monuments of Sanch, Vol. I, p. 314.

⁹⁷ Prabodhchandra Bagchi, *Deux lexiques Sanskrit-Chinois*, Tome II, pp. 340-45, Paris 1930.

⁹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 347.

⁹⁹ Sten Konow; for reference, see *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 90, 91.

¹⁰⁰ Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kie ((Turcs) occidentaux*, p. 52, 1903. St. Petersburg.

¹⁰¹ J.A., IX, VI, pp. 371 ff.

guish Ki-pin from Kao-fu or Kabul could be a rendering of the Indian word Kapira comparable with Ptolemy's Kaspeiria (VII, 1, 42) and Kaspeiraioi which may represent Kaspira—Kashmira. After producing impressive arguments based on old Chinese documents and the examination of Fahien's route to India which refers Ki-pin as lying towards the west of Kashmir, Sten Konow comes to the conclusion that Ki-pin did not imply different geographical designations at two different periods but only denoted Kāfiristān.¹⁰² If as M. Lévi believed the original Indian word for Ki-pin was Kapira then it has some connection with Kārpāsika which did not indicate Kashmīr as it is mentioned elsewhere as a separate geographical entity in the *Upāyanaparva* (M.B., II. 48.13).

Another interesting point brought out by M. Lévi¹⁰³ is the equation of Kapiśa-Kamboja. Kapiśa¹⁰⁴ is changed to Ka-bu-śa by the Tibetan translator of the Mahāmāyurī.¹⁰⁵ This change of Kapiśa to Kabusa raised the question which M. Lévi has discussed, whether Kapiśa and Kamboja are not the same. In Kapiśa and Kamboja he finds an effort to render the spelling of a strange word which he analyses as $\frac{Ka}{Kam} = \frac{\partial}{Kam} : \frac{p}{b} = \frac{s'}{j}$. In both the cases there seems to have been an aspirate in the middle f and z which has been left out in Sanskrit. In the Greek name of Kambyses—Ka (m) bujiya the aspirate is changed to sibilant. But Solinus, the copyist of Pliny¹⁰⁶, calls the Capisa of Pliny as Caphusa, which the Delphine editors have altered to Capissa. Here two points should be marked, firstly the change of *i* to *u* as in the Tibetan transcription already described and the maintenance of the aspirate *ph* which disappears in the Greek spelling of

¹⁰² *Ib.* IX, VI, p. 91.

¹⁰³ *J.A.* II, 1923.

¹⁰⁴ *Capisa quam diruit Cyrus*, Pliny VI, 92.

¹⁰⁵ *J.A.* II, p. 52. 1923.

¹⁰⁶ Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, p. 22.

Ka (m) bujiya-Cambyses. Is it an effort on the part of Solinus to render the spelling of a word with infix *ph* which has disappeared by the Sanskritisation of Kapiśa, Kamboja and also Kārpāsa (ika)? The form Kaphusa for Kapiśa which seems to be equivalent to Kārpāsa could be explained. Kārpāsa is equal to Kāpus as in Marathi with the disappearance of ancient *pha* from both the forms substituted by the labial *p*; the Greek form however, maintains the ancient aspirate *pha*. The two aspirates appear clearly in the title of Kadphizēs when progress brought the Kuśāṇas from Kuei-Chuang to the district of Kao-fu (Kabul) in Chinese transcription. The title of Kadphizes is symmetrical to the title of Taksiles under which the king of Takṣaśilā was known to the historians of Alexander.¹⁰⁷ Both are *tadrāja*.¹⁰⁸ The name of Kadphizes in Kharoṣṭhī is spelt as Kaphasa or Kapasa¹⁰⁹ on his coins found at Taxila and Lévi's interpretation of his belonging to Kapiśa is quite sound.¹¹⁰

Another alteration of Kapiśa Kamboja M. Lévi quotes from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. In the Kashmīr recension¹¹¹ the reading is *Arattam Kapiśam Bālhīm* (IV, 44, 27) which in Kṣemendrā's *Rāmāyaṇamañjarī* (IV, 252) become *Āraṭṭa, Bālhī, Kamboja*.

In connection with M. Lévi's theory that the Kamboja and Kapiśa are the same one may offer by the way of suggestion only the occurrence of the initials Kam in Kāmdesh, Kamah a river etc. Kamdesh in Kafir language is called Kāmbrom.¹¹² The upper region of the Bashgol Valley is Katirgol (Lutdeh in Chitrali and Kamtoz in Pushtu), the middle portion is Mumān (Madugāl in Chitrali) and the lower part Kām (Kamdesh in Chitrali

¹⁰⁷ J.A. II, 1923, p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ Pāṇini, IV, 1, 174.

¹⁰⁹ A.S.I., 1912-'13, pp. 44, 51.

¹¹⁰ For other spelling of the name see C.I. p. LXVI.

¹¹¹ Weber, *Rāmāyaṇa*, p. 25 note.

¹¹² Robertson, *The Kafirs of Hindukush*, p. 21, London, 1896, F. 7

and Kamož in Pushtu¹¹³). Kām in Bashgolī and Kamož in Pushtu seem to point to the connection of Kāfiristān with ancient Kamboja.

Thus before us is placed a suggestion that Kapiś-Kamboja denoted the same geographical unit. To this may also be added Kārpāsika which on account of its rare appearance seems to be clinging to some original form phonetically very near to the Sanskritised form Kārpāsika when more common form as Kapiśa and Kamboja were being commonly used. One thing which has been made clear in the *Mahābhārata* is that though Kāfiristān might have formed a part of Kamboja republic, its separate geographical name as Kārpāsika is maintained. Later on however there was no difference between Kamboja and Kapiśa, as Īdrisi's Qanauj, a dependency of the Hindu Kings of Kabul could not be anything else but Kāfiristān. There is another thing which deserves our attention. Does the word Kāfir in Kāfiristān denote the usual contemptuous term in Arabic for the non-believers or does it signify the land of the Kapirs or some such original form from which the word Kārpāsika originated? Or is it possible that as Kaniṣka has become Kanerka so Kapiśa has changed to Kāfir¹¹⁴ (Walters, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 124)? If Ki-pin transcribes some original name as Kapir as suggested by Lévi, then it is probably Kāfiristan and not Kaspeiro which is nearer to it philologically.

The gift of the Kāfir country to Yudhiṣṭhira at the time of the Rājasūya were also in keeping with the tradition of their country (M. B., II, 47, 7). They are addressed as Śudras who brought with them hundred thousand of slave girls, resident of the Kārpāsika country, who were brown-eyed, slender-waisted (*Śyāmāstanvyo*), whose hair grew luxuriantly and who were bedecked in golden ornaments. They also brought the goat-skins, and deer-skins worthy of even the Brāhmaṇas. It is no wonder

¹¹³ *Ib.*, p. 71.

that the Kāfirs are introduced as bringing slaves. Slavery till very recently was very common among the Kāfirs in whose country the women were regularly sold as chattels. The gift of the goat-skins throws light on the produce of the land. Even till recently, and there is no reason to believe, that the things have changed for the better, the boys and poor men of Kāfiristān only wore goat-skins. It was used by the great majority while raiding or hunting or when herding or watching their flocks. The goat-skin is a shapeless wrapper girdled at the waist by a leather strap. It only partially covers the neck and the chest and reaches half down the thighs.¹¹⁴

No description of the Kapiśa country without the Kāpiśāyanī Surā¹¹⁵ to which Pāṇini has devoted a whole Sūtra is complete though it is not mentioned among the gifts to Yudhiṣṭhira. Till very recently wine was prepared in Kāfiristan out of grapes. The grape juice was obtained by an extremely simple press. It was then allowed to ferment in a goat-skin. The new wine was extremely uninviting, but when kept two or three years it was clear and strong.¹¹⁶

Citraka (M.B. II, 46, 21). No direction is given. From the Buddhist literature (*Aṭṭhasālīnī*, p. 350) we find a Cittala mountain which is also mentioned in the *Viśuddhimagga* (p. 292).¹¹⁷ It may be identified with the modern Chitral State in Dir, Swat, and Chitral Agency with an area of 4500 sq. miles. It comprises the whole of Kashkār-bala or Upper Kashkār, i.e., the Tirich Valley, which runs northwards from Tirich-mir for 60 miles until it joins the Turikho Valley; thence the combined stream runs south for 40 miles through the Mulkho Valley and joins the Kho Valley below Mastuj. On the north stands Hindukush range, on the west Badakshān and Kāfiristān,

¹¹⁴ Robertson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 508-9.

¹¹⁵ Pāṇini, IV, 2, 99.

¹¹⁶ Robertson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 558-59.

¹¹⁷ B. C. Law, *Early Geography* p. 41.

on the south Dir, and on east the Gilgit Agency, Mastuj and Yāsin.¹¹⁸

Kukura M.B., II, 46, 21; 48, 14, 15. At one place (M.B. II, 48, 14) they appear with the Ambaṣṭhas, Tārksyas, Vastrapas, Pahlavas and at the other (II, 48, 15) with the Śaundikas and Śakas.

Kukuras were a very ancient tribe forming a component of the great Vṛṣṇi confederation. In Megasthenes¹¹⁹ a very uncommon description of the tribe is given. They are described as a tribe living in the mountains and having heads like dogs, they were clothed in the skins of wild beasts, whose speech was barking; and who being armed with claws, lived by hunting and fowling. Apparently the story has been fabricated from the word Kukura meaning "dog". Pliny (VII, ii, 14-22) also repeats the same story. They are also mentioned in the inscription of Vāśiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi issued in his 19th regnal year¹²⁰ where they are placed with Aparānta.

Probably they could be identified with the great Khokhar or Khokhur tribe of the Panjāb. They are found between the Jāts, Rājputs, Arāiṇs, and Cuhṛās. They are most numerous along the valley of Jhelum and Chenab and specially in Jhang and Shāhpur districts. They are also found, though in smaller number on the lower Indus and Satlaj, especially in Lahore, also along the foot of the hills from the Jhelum to the Satlaj. The Khokhars of Gujarāt and Siālkot have a tradition that they were at first settled at Gaṛh Kharāna of which they were dispossessed by Timūr. In Akbar's time they were the principal tribe in Dasūya Paragana in Hoshiyārpur, and they now give their name to the Khokharain to a tract which contains some fifty villages in all but three of which

¹¹⁸ *Imp. Gaz.*, X, p. 301.

¹¹⁹ *Ancient India*, p. 79.

¹²⁰ *Nasik Cave Inscription*, No. 18, *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 108-9.

are in Kapūrthalā State on the border of Dasūya Tahsil.¹²¹

The origin of the Khokhars is obscure. In the Jhelum district they claim Rājput descent from Bharat and Jasrat.¹²² Some other Khokhars connect themselves with Persian Kings, specially Dahak whose descendants according to the Khokhar tradition were called Nāgbansīs. They also give their traditional history and mention a long list of kings as their ancestors.¹²³ What was their exact situation in the second century B.C. cannot be said. But if their traditional relationship with the Vṛṣṇis is taken for granted then they may perhaps be placed in Hoshiārpur district which is the probable findspot of a solitary bilingual coin of the Vṛṣṇi republic. In the first century B.C. or even earlier they seem to have moved to the Lower Sind and Kach and Kāthiāwād.

Kāraskara. M.B. II, 46, 21. They are also mentioned in the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* (I, 2, 14). *Baudhāyana* prescribes expatiation after a visit to the countries of the Araṭṭas, the Kāraskaras, the Puṇḍras, the Sauvīras, the Vaṅgas, the Kaliṅgas and the Prānūnas. They also appear in the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra* (XX, 13 (14), *Āpastamba* (XXII, 6, 18) and the *Hiraṇyakeśi Sūtras* (XVII, 6). Pāṇini was also acquainted with their existence. *Kāraskaro Vṛkṣaḥ* (VI, 1, 156) means a tree growing in the country of the Kāraskaras. The Kāraskaras may probably be identified as a section of the Chitrālis living in Kashqār Valley. As Citrakas probably represent Chitrālis, we have to assume the existence of two states within the boundaries of modern Chitral in ancient times.

Lohajāṅgha : M.B., II, 46, 21. Again no information is available with regard to their provenance.

¹²¹ Rose, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 539.

¹²² *Ib.*, pp. 539-40.

¹²³ *Ib.*, pp. 541-543.

Apparently they are distinguished from the Lohas who are mentioned with the Paramakāmbhojas and the Rṣikas (M.B., II, 24, 24). They also seem to be different from the Lohitas with their ten Maṇḍalas whose country Arjuna conquered after Kashmīr (M.B., II, 24, 16) and which probably was ancient Leh as pointed out by Stein.¹²⁴ They may be identified with the people living in the Logar Valley in the south of Kabul whose principal city Locharna is mentioned by Ptolemy.⁵ The word Roh was applied to some Afghan tribes who migrated to India and gave Rohilkhand or Bareilly district this name.

Bharukaccha : M.B., II, 47, 8. The people of Broach brought for presentation the Gandhāra horses. Apparently they must have been dealing in them. Bharukaccha the modern Broach in Gujarāt situated on the estuary of the Narbada was famous since the days of the Indo-Greek commerce, and is the same as Barygaza of the Greek navigators. Gandhāra is of course the region about Peshawar.

The Trans-Indus people. M.B. II, 47, 9-10. In this couplet a very crisp and to the point description of the states of Lāsbelā and Kalāt in southern Baluchistan is given. "And the Vairāmas, Pāradas and Vaṅgas (variant *Abhīrāḥ*) with the Kitavas, they who lived on the crops that depended on the occasional rainfall or the rain, they who lived in the trans-Indus country and were born in the land of sea-shore gardens" brought to Yudhiṣṭhira presents which will be described later on.

Stein who explored the wilderness of Makrān in recent years¹²⁶ stands testimony to the truthfulness of the climatic conditions of the country as mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. He explored Kalāt that once formed the

¹²⁴ *Rājataranginī*, III, 10; Stein, *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 523.

¹²⁵ Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 44.

¹²⁶ Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia*, *Arch. Sur. of India*, Memoir No. 48, Calcutta, 1931.

part of ancient Gedrosia, now under the control of Baluchistān administration. It was the scene of Alexander's march through the torrid wastes of Gedrosia. The major part of the Kalāt State is occupied by the barren mountain ranges stretching from north-east to west in parallel arcs, and gradually decreasing in height; "The southernmost of them conveniently designated as Makrān coast range overlooks the desolate shores of the Arabian sea. There are scattered small settlements of fishing folks, supported here and there by little patches of precarious cultivation making their living in ways not essentially very different from the primitive Ikhtyophagoi, whom Alexander's troops met on their passage through these arid wastes. The valleys formed by the numerous torrents beds which break up this range offered nowhere chance for even semipermanent occupation except in Kulānch to the north of the road to Pasni where small villages carry on agriculture wholly dependent on the capricious rainfall of the coast."¹²⁷ To the north this coastal range is flanked by the long stretched valley of Kej river continued westward by the Nihing valley and to the north-east the open drainless basin of Kolwa, it forms the economic back-bone of Makrān. There are strings of oases along the banks of the Kej with feeds and date groves, irrigation is made by Kārēzes or subterraneous canals and by cuts (Kaur-jo) taking off from large pools in the river bed. These retain water, even after the rain floods from the mountains, always heavy but very uncertain.¹²⁸ The Dasht valley or the tract where the waters of Kej and Nihing find their way to meet the sea at the bay of Gwāṭar is important as wide stretches of alluvial soil are to be found on both sides of the river where it breaks through Gokprosh hill chain. Here the cultivation is carried out by rain water collected by embankment. The Central Makran range and

¹²⁷ Stein, of *Ib.*, p. 8.

¹²⁸ *Ib.*

Rakshashān Valley likewise offer a little place for cultivation.¹²⁹

Jhalawan contains the mountainous regions stretching from the north to the south which divides the lower Indus Valley from Khāran and Makrān. In the valleys dividing the ranges there gather rivers which all carry their drainage either into the sea like Hingol, Porali and Hab or else to Indus. But it is only at the time of rain-floods these rivers contain water along their whole course and these, too, only for very brief periods.¹³⁰

The climate is arid and the majority of the population leads a nomadic life. The springs and Kārēzes are more widely distributed than in Makrān, yet only less than one fourth of the total cultivated area receives irrigation. The rest is entirely dependent on the chance of adequate water being secured from the rare floods which in favourable years descend in the torrents and river beds are being caught by the poorly constructed embankments from the slopes above the fields.¹³¹ In Sarawan the physical features are akin to Jhalawan.

The State of Lāsbela on the southern coast of Baluchistān is bounded on the north by the Jhalawan division of Kalāt State; on the south by the Arabian Sea; on the east by Kirthār range, which separates it from Sindh and on the west by the Hālā offshoot of the Pab range. Its eastern part is mountainous, the centre consists of a triangular level plain with its base on the sea; on the west the State has a strip of coast stretching from port Ormāra. The Porāli carries a small permanent supply of water. The Hingol is another river which falls into the sea within the State limit. The coast line extends for about 250 miles and possesses two road-steads in Sonmiani and Ormāra.¹³² Its climate is like Makrān.

¹²⁹ *Ib.*, pp. 9-10.

¹³⁰ Stein, of *Ib.*, p. 12.

¹³¹ *Ib.*, p. 13.

¹³² *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 144-45.

It was in such physical conditions that the races already mentioned inhabited.

The first tribe inhabiting these waste-lands were Vairāmakas (M.B., II, 47, 10) who are also mentioned in the Mahāmāyūrī¹³³ (48, 1). But beyond the fact that they were a trans-Indus people and that their home was in the land where the rainfall was very scanty (M.B. II, 47,9) nothing is known about them in Indian literature. Fortunately enough in the identification of the Vairāmakas the Greek sources come to our help. For this we must get ourselves acquainted with Alexander's homeward march to Carmania through southern Baluchistān and his campaign against the country of Oroeitei (Arrian. Anab. VI, 21-22). On crossing the river Arabios Alexander marched throughout the night in a desert country, and then after being joined by the main body of the troops he penetrated the country further and came to the capital of the Oroeitei named Rambakia, which was the largest village in their domain, and as usual defeated the barbarians, and pleased with the situation of the village decided to colonise it and for that purpose left Hēphaistion behind. Now all the classical authors place the two barbarian races called Arabii or Arabitoe and Oroeitei, Oritoe, Oraitai, Horaitai as they are variously spelt to the west of the Indus. Arrian (*Indika*, 22) calls the country of Arabii as the last part of India towards the west and Strabo (XV, 21) calls it a part of India, but both exclude Oroeitei, though Curtius (*Vita. Alex.* IX, 10, 33) includes it in India. These Oroeitei, whose capital was Rambakia, have been identified by Holdich as the Hots of Makrān with their head-quarters at Tump, and by Mockler with the utii of the army of Xerxes.¹³⁴ The home of the Arabii is located on the river Arabios, the modern Porāli, which flows through the district of Las into the bay of Sonmiani,

¹³³ *J.A.*, II, 1915, p. 94.

¹³⁴ *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII, 94.

50 miles from Karāchi.¹³⁵ Cunningham derives the name Oroitei from the river Aghor¹³⁶ and Rāmbāgh on the Aghor river a place of Hindu pilgrimage with the association of Rama, with Rambakia, the capital of the Oroitei in the time of Alexander. The western boundary of the Oroitei is placed by Nearchus¹³⁷ at a place called Malana which Cunningham identifies with the bay of Malan, to the east of Rās Mālān of the present day. Holdich¹³⁸ locates the sight of the ancient Rambakia at Khairkot situated the north-west of Liari commanding the Hala pass. Whatever may be the exact position of Oroitei in all probability they lived in that part of Baluchistān which is known as Lasbela State, perhaps between Porāli and Hingol.

Rambakia also lay on an important trade route. A route from the south of Kandhār passed through Rambakia and thence by road or river Porali to Oraea (in Sonmiani Bay), whence India could be reached by sea or through low mountains.¹³⁹ Leaving aside the previous identifications it seems probable that Rambakia is the Greek form of the Sanskrit Vairāmaka, a race living to the west of the Indus. The substantival form of the Vairāmaka must have been Virāma. The Greek spelling of the word simply resulted by the simple transposition of the initial *vi* in the Sanskrit spelling into the middle of the Greek spelling. In Sanskrit literature the Oroitei seem to have been only known by the name of their capital which is quite correct in view of Pāṇini's *tadrāja* rule. The Oroitei according to the *Cambridge History of India* were of the Dravidian stock.

¹³⁵ Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, pp. 349-50.

¹³⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 353-354.

¹³⁷ *Ib.*, 354-355.

¹³⁸ Holdich, *loc. cit.*, pp. 150-51.

¹³⁹ Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁴⁰ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 380.

Pārada. M.B., II, 47, 61, 10, 48, 12. The Pāradas are mentioned twice in the *Upāyanaparva*. Once they are placed to the west of the Indus (M.B., II, 47, 9) and the second time their connection with the Bāhlikas or Bactrians is indicated. They are also mentioned by the *Mahāmāyūrī*¹⁴¹ (95, 2), Varāhamihira (*Bṛhat-saṃhitā*, XIV, 21) place them with the Vokkāṇas and Rāmaṭhas among the peoples of the west. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (IV, 44, 13) they are placed with the Yavanas and Śakas before the Bāhlikas. They are also mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 37). In the *Hari-ramśa* (XIII, 763-64; XIV, 775-83) they are said to have been degraded by the king Sagara who made them wear long hair and that they were Mlecchas and *Dasyus* (*Ib.*, CXV, 6440-42). Manu (X, 43-44) says that they were Kṣatriyas who became degraded because of the extinction of sacred rite. Ptolemy's Paradēnē (VI, 21, 4) which signified all the interior country in Gedrosia could be equated with the Pāradas mentioned in the *Upāyanaparva* (M.B., II, 47, 9). Nearly all the trace of the Pāradas has however disappeared from Makrān. In the centre of Panjgur oasis however a little above Chitkān is situated the Pardān-damb, the remains of which proved to consist of three successive stone embankments solidly constructed of large unhewn. The name Pardān and its ancient archaeological remains may perhaps connect the place with the ancient Pāradas.¹⁴²

Their association with Bāhlikas or Bactrians shows (M.B., II, 48, 12) that here probably they could be identified with the Parthians, a Śaka tribe, the forerunners of the Saka migration of 130 B.C., who after nomadizing first in the plains south-east of Caspian, invaded and conquered Parthava, the modern Khurāsān (Herzfield, *The Archaeological History of Iran*, pp. 53-4). If the Pāra-

¹⁴¹ J.A. II, 1915, pp. 103-104.

¹⁴² Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Gedrosia*, p. 45.

das are the Parthians then their presence in Gedrosia could be explained by the long association of the country with the ancient Iran of Darius¹⁴³ (522—486 B.C.) and Xerxes (486—465).

Vaṅga (M.B., II, 47, 10). The variant readings are Tuṅgāśca and Ābhīrāh. At first it seems that Vangāśca, the reading taken as correct by the editors is wrong, and the correct reading should have been Ābhīrāh, as the Ābhīras living in the mountainous regions and subsisting on fish (M.B., II, 29, 9), the equivalent of the Greek Ichthyophagoi of the Makrān coast, are known. But on maturer consideration the reading Vaṅga seems to be right. In the seventh century according to Yuan Chwang¹⁴⁴ the Lang-Kie (ka)—Lo whose Sanskrit form Langar has been found by Julien and Lankar by Watters¹⁴⁵ lived on the Makrān coast. The country according to Yuan Chwang was very rich in precious substances, and naturally therefore its people brought jewels for presentation to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B., 47, 10). Nothing is known about its precious wealth to-day for the country has never been surveyed for its possible mineral wealth. In the typical Meḍs who live between Gwāṭar and Sonmiani, there are Meḍs proper who are fishermen, the Koras sea-faring men and a third section of unknown descent called Lānga.¹⁴⁶ The alteration of the initials in Lāng and Vaṅga, can be explained on the well known principle of Munda Khmer languages. As the initials Aṅga and Vaṅga were alternating in Eastern India, and Kēmbōj and Semboj in Cambodia in French Indo-China and Java the same thing was happening on another extreme corner of India—the Makran coast. This could be explained on the basis of the existence of a substratum of Austric language in Bengal and also in as far a country as Makran.

¹⁴³ *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 334.

¹⁴⁴ Watters, II, pp. 257-58.

¹⁴⁵ *Ib.* p. 257.

¹⁴⁶ *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII, p. 106.

Kitava (M.B. II. 47, 10). They seem to have been a very important tribe of Makran, and if their identification with the Kej be correct, then their importance may be gauged by the fact that in the medieval period their name became a synonym for the whole of Makrān—Kej-Makrān. The Kej Valley lies between Kolwa and Mand and the valley of Buleda. This is the Kej Makran of the Arab geographers. It is hemmed in all sides by high ridges. In the central portion there is a large irrigated area and but in the eastern and western portions dry cultivation is carried out.

Mockler (*J.A.S.B.*, 1895, pp. 30-36) has quoted a number of authorities, both Arab and Persian, to show that a people named Kufs or Kufij inhabited the mountains to the south of Kirman, to the south-east of which the low-lying country was inhabited by Baluchis. He has identified an aboriginal tribe in South Kirman who call themselves Kufish with the ancient Kufs of Bilādhuri, Tabari and Ibn-Haukal. It is yet to be decided whether Kofish, Kōfic, Kufij, Kūs, Kūj, or Koj, Kūi, Kec, Koc, Kij, Kej, Kiz, Kesh, Kash and Kush, the son of Ham, are similaly the variations of the same name or not (*Ib.* p. 35). To this list may also be added the Kitava of the Mahābhārata. Kitava or Kaitavya are invariably mentioned with the Ulūkas (M.B., I, 177, 20; V, 56, 23) who no doubt represented the Kulūtas or the people of modern Kulu Valley—the form Kulūta occurring in the *Sabhāparva* (II, 24, 4) in which the learned editor has noted the variants Ulūta, Ulūka, and Kaulūta. Here as well the change of the initial occurs on the well known principles of the Munda-Khmer languages. Their companions the Kitavas or Kaitavyas therefore should represent the people of modern Suket. What relation they bore to the Kitavas of Makran it is difficult to say, probably they represented the same ethnic group.

¹⁴⁷ In the *Arthasāstra* (p. 101) however the honey as well as the juice extracted from the grapes are called *madhu*.

Their gifts to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B. 41, 10-11) represented fully the products of the trans-Indus country. They brought goats and sheep (*ajāvikam*), cattle and gold (*gohiranyam*), camels and asses (*kharoṣṭram*) wine manufactured from fruits (*phalajam madhu*), and the various kinds of jewels.

Camels and donkeys and sheep and goats are reared in Makrān which enjoys a considerable reputation as a camel breeding country. Camel breeding is passion with the Baluchis. Kulanch is one of the best breeding grounds in Makrān. Dasht is famous for its riding camels.¹⁴⁸ The Kharan camel has also a great reputation in Baluchistān. It is bigger than the Makrān camel and is particularly good over the rocky country. There are fewer varieties the best and the commonest being *dastal* which has its forelegs white from the foot to a little below the shoulder.¹⁴⁹

(To be continued)

¹⁴⁸ *Baluchistan Gary*, VII, pp. 181-2.

¹⁴⁹ *Ib.*, Vol. VII, A, pp. 99-101.

THE ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE

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In Indian art of the second and first centuries B.C., at Sāñchī, Bharhut and Buddha-Gayā, images of the Buddha do not appear; his presence is indicated by particular symbols, e.g., the Bodhi tree, the Wheel of the Law, the *Triratna*, the empty throne, the stūpa and the foot-prints. But in the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra (modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts), which originated about the second century B.C., the Buddha appears in human form. Images of the Buddha with no trace of Hellenistic influence have been also found in the purely Indian art of Mathurā¹, during the great flourishing period of its career which coincides with the rule of the Great Kushāṇas. Thus there has been a great controversy regarding the origin of the Buddha-image, the question being 'Gandhāra and Greece' or 'Mathurā and India'². The supporters of Mathurā believe in two independent origins of the Buddha-image, and maintain that the Indian Buddha of Mathurā bears no relation at all to the Hellenistic Buddha of Gandhāra, the latter having only local influence or no influence at all, and that the later Buddha images all derive from the Indian art of Mathurā. But while Bachhofer and Waldschmidt make the first Gandhāra Buddha appear earlier than the first Mathurā Buddha, the former about the Christian era and

¹ On the art of Mathurā see J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā* (*Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV).

² For a summary of the questions and arguments see W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 395 ff.

the latter about a century later in the time of Kanishka I³, Coomaraswamy makes the two independent creations take place simultaneously in the middle of or early in the first century A.D. The supporters of Gandhāra believe that the iconic Buddha type evolved in Gandhāra and in course of time spread all over Eastern Asia. This view originated with Foucher and was generally credited till Indian images of the Buddha were first detected by Vogel at Mathurā. But Vogel has always maintained that the Hellenistic type of Buddha at Gandhāra produced the Indian type at Mathurā. The supporters of Gandhāra argue that the first Mathurā Buddha cannot be dated before the Christian era; it is to be assigned to the later Kushāna period (second century A.D.), the association of Huvishka with artistic activity at Mathurā being indisputable. But the first Gandhāra Buddha can be dated before the Christian era; it is to be assigned to the early half of the first century B.C., as the datable representations of the Buddha occur not only on the Shāh-Jī-Kī-Dherī casket⁴ of Kanishka I (78 A.D.) and the Bimarān casket⁵ of the time of Azes I (C. 30 B.C.) but also on a coin of Maues⁶, who reigned from C. 80 to C. 58 B.C.⁷ According to Tarn this last, but definite and very material, chronological evidence proves that the Gandhāra Buddha is much older than the Indian Buddha of Mathurā. The object of the present paper, however, is to show that the

³ The date of Kanishka I has been the subject of great controversy. Several dates have been suggested. But to-day the question seems to lie between the Saka era of 78 A.D. and Sten Konow's date of 128 A.D. Here 78 A.D. has been adopted.

⁴ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. XXIV 89.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. XXIV 88.

⁶ Percy Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum: Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India*, p. 71, nos. 20—24, pl. XVII 5.

R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore*, Vol. I (*Indo-Greek coins*), p. 102, nos. 29—31, pl. X 31.

⁷ For this date of Maues see Tarn, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII (*Greek and Sacas in India*) and Appendix 16.

question regarding the origin of the Buddha-image has not been decided once for all in favour of 'Gandhāra and Greece' by the representation of the Buddha on the coin of Maues; there is still scope for the supporters of Mathurā to maintain, following Cohn, that "on internal grounds the Buddha-statue must be a purely Indian invention even though this be only a theory resting on hypothesis" and that "the time will come when Mathurā will stand forth as the sole place of origin of the Buddha-statue."⁸

The casket of gilt copper alloy from the stūpa at Shāh-jī-ki-Dherī consists of a cylinder and lid. On the lid are three nimbate figures in the round, representing the seated Buddha between the standing figures of Indra and Brahmā. Around the rim of the lid are in relief seated Buddhas, a representation of Kaṇishka, and the sun and moon gods, with garland-bearing Erotes. The casket, as we know from the Kharoshthī inscription⁹ on it, belongs to the time of Kaṇishka. This Kaṇishka does not seem to be Kaṇishka I (78 A.D.) but another Kaṇishka whom traditions assign to the second century A.D. and make a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and others¹⁰; for according to

⁸ Dr. W. Cohn supports Mathurā. His view is summarized by Tarn thus: "Dr. W. Cohn, who has maintained since 1925 that on internal grounds the Buddha-statue must be a purely Indian invention even though this be only a theory resting on hypothesis, also believes that the Buddha-image was evolved twice and independently, and has said that the time will come when Mathura will stand forth as the sole place of origin of the Buddha-statue, even though it cannot be proved." Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 397. But while we accept Cohn generally, we do not agree with him that there were two separate and unconnected creations of the Buddha-image.

⁹ On the Kharoshthī inscription on the Shāh-jī-ki Dherī casket see Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, Part I, No. LXXII.

¹⁰ Kaṇishka of the Shāh-jī-ki Dherī casket inscription seems to be Kaṇishka of the Arā stone inscription. The latter is sometimes identified with Kaṇishka I. But this seems to be untenable; for whereas the father's name of Kaṇishka of the Arā inscription is known, the numerous records of Kaṇishka I do not mention his father's name (D. C. Sircar, *Select inscriptions*, Vol. I, n. 1 in p. 149).

Majumdar,¹¹ upon the evidence of style and technique of the figures on it, the casket should be assigned to the later Kushāṇa period and not to the time of Kanishka I. Majumdar observes: "I may note here that there are several difficulties in assigning the Shah-jī-kī-Dherī casket to the time of Kanishka I. The Kushān king represented on the casket in relief in a band below the Buddha figure, who is supposed to be the royal donor, is without a beard, whereas Kanishka I, like his predecessors, has this feature uniformly on his coins. As representations of beardless Kushān kings appear on coins from the time of Huvishka onwards, the casket should be assigned to this period. The lotus-seat is also in favour of this supposition. In the earlier sculptures of Gandhāra, the Buddha has a lotus-seat only in the scene of the Great Miracle of Śrāvastī. Later on it becomes universal, as for instance in the stucco figures, standing as well as seated, at Jaulian and Mohra Moradu in Taxila¹², which date from the 4th-5th century A.D. But the Buddha figure on the casket does not represent the Great Miracle; his right hand is in the *abhaya mudra* and he holds in his left hand a round vessel. A consideration of the halo of the Buddha, which has lotus petal decoration along the edge, also leads to the same conclusion. This decoration appears on halos of sculptures of the later Kushān period." The lotus petals have their later prototype in the triangles. The nimbus with triangular petals is found in the Buddha from Pātāvā¹³, in Afghanistan, which marks the transition from the Kushāṇa to the Gupta period, and also in the Sassano-Buddhist frescoes at Bāmiyān.¹⁴

¹¹ N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II (The Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra), n. 3 in p. 13.

¹² On the finds from Mohrā Morādu and Jauliāñ see Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (1918), pp. 103 ff.

¹³ Rene Grousset, *The Civilization of the East-India*, p. 122 and fig. 21.

¹⁴ *Les Antiquités bouddhiques de Bāmiyān* (1928), fig. 6 and Pl. XXI b.

Another datable, but earlier, representation of the Buddha is on the gold casket found inside the relic chamber of a stūpa at Bīmarān in Afghanistan. A steatite vase, bearing a Kharoshthī inscription¹⁵, contained the casket, and together with the vase were found some copper coins of Azes (I according to some scholars and II according to others). The coins have usually been taken to imply that the vase was deposited in the days of Azes, though they only prove, as pointed out by Foucher¹⁶, that the reliquary is not older than Azes. It is also stated by the same scholar that the relief figures on the casket, which represent standing worshippers and the Buddha with nimbus in niches surmounted by ogee-shaped arches of Indian form, show that the Bīmarān vase is older than the Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī casket. The Bīmarān figures, with proportionate bodies and well-executed drapery, make a nearer approach to Hellenistic prototype than the dwarfish and stumpy figures on the Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī casket. Further, the ogee-shaped arches, beneath which the Bīmarān figures are made to stand, occur on the front facade of a stūpa at Sirkap belonging to the Parthian period.¹⁷ Furthermore, the characters of the Kharoshthī inscription on the Bīmarān vase are older than those on the Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī casket. Thus there cannot be any doubt that the Bīmarān vase is older than the Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī casket. But there are two difficulties in assigning the Bīmarān vase to the time of Azes. As pointed out by Foucher, the fact that some coins of Azes were found with the Bīmarān vase, only shows that the vase was not older than Azes. Tarn¹⁸, agreeing with Foucher, rightly observes: "And though the Bīmarān casket in the British Museum was found with some coins of Azes I, that only means that it is probably

¹⁵ On the Kharoshthī inscription on the Bīmarān vase see Sten Konow, *op. cit.*, No. XVII.

¹⁶ A. Foucher, *L'Art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, Vol. II, p. 478.

¹⁷ Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (1918), p. 74.

¹⁸ Tarn, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

not earlier than C. 30 B.C. and may be a good deal later; his big coinage may have long remained in circulation." There is another difficulty in assigning the Bīmarān vase to the time of Azes. The Buddha on the Bīmarān casket has a nimbus around the head. The nimbus is plain unlike that of the Buddha on the Shāh-jī-kī-Dheri casket which has lotus petal decoration along the edge. This decoration on the nimbus, as Majumdar has pointed out, is found in sculptures of the later Kushāṇa period. But when does the plain nimbus around the Buddha's head appear? The Buddha on the coin of Maues has no nimbus, nor he has radial lines or dots around the head as found in the figure of Artemis on the coins of Demetrius¹⁹ and Maues²⁰ and in that of Zeus on the coins of Vonones with Spalahores²¹ and Spalirises with Azes²². The Buddha on a series of coins of Kujula Kadphises I, with hair tied into a knot on the crown of the head, is also neither nimbate nor radiate.²³ A nimbus appears around the Buddha's head for the first time on the coins of Kanishka I²⁴. It is plain like that of the Bīmarān Buddha. The Bīmarān vase, therefore, should be assigned to the time of Kanishka I and not to the time of Azes. It may be worth notice here that Lakshmī on the coins of Azes²⁵ and Azilies²⁶ is neither nimbate nor radiate. So with Śiva of Gondophares²⁷. But the deity has hair in top-knot. Śiva of Wima Kad-

¹⁹ Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pl. I 22.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pl. X 10.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pl. XIV 374.

²² *Ibid.*, pl. XIV 395.

²³ *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*; 1912-13, p. 52, nos. 52-4; 1914-15, p. 33, no. 38; 1915-16, p. 34, nos. 18, 19. By combining the coins Sir John Marshall read the legend on the obverse as *Yavugasa Kujula Kasasa Kushanasa* (*A.S.I.*, 1912-13, p. 44). See also Whitehead, *op. cit.*, n. 1 in pp. 181-82, on the Buddha-figure on the coins of Kadaphes.

²⁴ Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI 8 and XXXII 14.

²⁵ Whitehead, *op. cit.* pl. XII 308.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XIII 332, 333.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XV 43.

phises II is also neither nimbate nor radiate. But the hair of the deity is shown in two styles. The style in which the hair is in top-knot has been noticed by Smith²⁸. But he has failed to notice the second style; the hair in three plaits, one of which forms the top-knot and the other two reach the shoulders and back. Whitehead²⁹ takes the hair in top-knot as radiance in one case and as flames rising from the head in the other, while the hair in top-knot and flowing plaits as radiance. According to Gardner³⁰ the first represents flames and the second a headdress. That both Whitehead and Gardner are wrong is clear enough from a comparison of two coins of Kadphises II³¹ and one of Vāsudeva³². Śiva is nimbate for the first time on the coins of Kaṇishka I³³, and Lakshmī on the coins of Samudragupta.

The two datable representations of the Buddha, as we have already remarked, cannot be assigned to the pre-Kushāṇa period. But we have still to consider the Buddha-figure on the coin of Maues. According to Gardner³⁴, on the obverse of the coin an elephant runs with a wreath in its uplifted trunk and on the reverse the king is seated cross-legged on a raised cushion with a sword on his knees. Whitehead³⁵ does not mention the sword. Smith³⁶ leaves it open whether the figure on the reverse is a king or a deity. Longworth Dames³⁷, in a review of Whitehead's *Lahore Catalogue* (Vol. I) points out for the first

²⁸ Vincent A. Smith, *Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, Part I: *The Early Foreign Dynasties and the Guptas*, p. 68.

²⁹ Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-84.

³⁰ Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

³¹ Smith, *op. cit.*, pl. XI 5; Whitehead, *op. cit.*, Pl. XVII 36.

³² Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pl. XIX 211.

³³ *Ibid.*, pl. XVII 65.

³⁴ Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 71, nos. 20—24.

³⁵ Whitehead, *op. cit.*, p. 102, nos. 29—31.

³⁶ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 40, nos. 12-13.

³⁷ *J.R.A.S.*, 1914, p. 793.

time that "A close examination fails to confirm the presence of a sword, the horizontal line to the right being probably part of the seat. The attitude of the figure seems to justify its identification as a seated Buddha, very like the seated Buddha on Kanishka's coin. If this attribution is correct it is probably the earliest appearance of Buddha in coinage." Cordington³⁸ merely makes a reference to Longworth Dames' suggestion. Coomaraswamy³⁹ says that the seated figure on the obverse of the coin of Maues is close to a Buddha-figure, but that the identity is not beyond all doubt. He says further that the identification of the Buddha-figure on the obverse of the coin of Kadphises I is not also conclusive. Tarn⁴⁰ establishes the identity beyond all doubt in either case. On coins the king's place is invariably on the obverse and the god's, in general, on the reverse. Thus *Azes* is on the obverse and *Hermes* on the reverse;⁴¹ and *Kanishka I* is on the obverse and the gods, such as *Siva* and the *Buddha*, on the reverse. On the coins of *Kadphises I* the *Buddha* is on the obverse because the god *Zeus* is on the reverse, and the *Buddha* is more important of the two. The obverse of the coin of *Maues* shows an elephant and its reverse a seated figure. As on coins the king's place is on the obverse, it is certain that the seated figure does not represent *Maues* but a god, the *Buddha*. We may mention here a coin of *Antialkidas*⁴², which has on the obverse bust of the king and on the reverse an elephant. But how to explain the placing of the elephant on the obverse of the coin of *Maues* and that of the *Buddha* on its reverse, when elephants are

³⁸ K. De B. Cordington, *Ancient India*, p. 38n.

³⁹ Coomaraswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 59. Coomaraswamy also mentions Longworth Dames' suggestion. Tarn's statement that "I have in fact only met one reference to it," by Cordington, "and that did not appreciate its significance" is, therefore, open to correction.

⁴⁰ Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 400 ff.

⁴¹ Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pl. XI 195.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pl. IV 212.

certainly not more important than gods? The placing of the animal is not actually material; for on a coin of Lysias⁴³ the obverse shows bust of Herakles and the reverse elephant, while on a coin of Antimachos Theos⁴⁴ on the obverse is elephant and on the reverse winged Nike. We may note here that in Tarn's opinion the elephant on the coin of Maues is not running but dancing and offering a wreath to the seated figure on the reverse, and he thinks that this is confirmed by another coin of Maues⁴⁵, which has precisely the same obverse type but its reverse shows a humped bull, Śiva's bull, in place of the seated figure. The same types as on the second coin of Maues occur on a coin of Azes.⁴⁶ But judging by its attitude the elephant on the coin of Azes does not seem to perform an act of worship before Śiva's bull; both animals move to right. So with a coin of Azilises⁴⁷, where the animals, however, move to left. We, therefore, incline to make the Indian elephant as a symbol for the king's authority in India; in fact, Demetrius⁴⁸ and Lysius⁴⁹ are represented as wearing elephant's scalp on their coins.

It seems almost certain that the seated figure on the reverse of the coin of Maues represents the Buddha, and this piece of chronological evidence, according to Tarn, definitely proves that the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra first produced the Buddha-image. But it does not seem so. Lakshmī appears on the coins of Azes and Azilises, and she appears on a coin of Azilises in the same form as on the Bharhut Railing⁵⁰. There cannot be any doubt that the figure of Lakshmī on the coin of Azilises is

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pl. III 157.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. II 59.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pl. X 32.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pl. XII 288.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pl. XIV 363.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. I 18, 26.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. III 150.

⁵⁰ Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part I (*Early Indian Schools*), pl. VI b.

either a copy of the composition created by an Indian artist or a work of an Indian artist uninfluenced by foreign ideas. This line of argument also applies to the Buddha-figure on the coin of Maues which does not show Hellenistic influence, even though we do not meet with a representation of the Buddha in Indian art of the same period. Thus we believe that the Hellenistic type of Buddha at Gandhāra evolved from the Indian type at Mathurā. In Indian art the idea of representing the Buddha in human form instead of by symbols must have begun when Bhakti penetrated Buddhism⁵¹. By about 100 B.C. the Bhāgawāt religion was well established, as is shown by the Garuḍa pillar at Besnagar which was set up by Heliodorus from Taxila, the ambassador of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas.⁵² Bhakti must have also penetrated Buddhism about this time. But the centre of the new Buddhism must have been Mathurā,⁵³ for while the Greek artists of Gandhāra began to represent the Buddha in human form, the Indian artists of Central and Eastern India continued to represent the Buddha by symbols.

We shall now discuss a few Buddha images of Gandhāra, which are usually assigned to an early period on considerations of style. Some are inscribed and dated,

⁵¹ R. P. Chanda, *A.S.I.*, 1925-26, p. 125.

⁵² D. C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

⁵³ According to M. Winternitz (Eng. Trans. of *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 255), however, the worship of the Buddha-image, as a result of the introduction of the element of Bhakti in Buddhism, originated in Gandhāra. But Mathurā is the traditional birth place of Vaishnavism and of the associated cult of Bhakti, and Chanda rightly says: "It was evidently as a result of contact with Vaishnavism, which enjoins devotion to the incarnation of Vishnu, that the austere Jaina and Buddha pursuit of perfect knowledge had to adapt itself to fervent devotion to the persons of the Jinas and the Buddhas and adopt image worship and image making. Such a hypothesis is opposed to the commonly accepted view that the Buddha and consequently the Jina type is a creation of the Greek artists of Gandhāra. But this latter view is based on the mere supposition that some of the images of Buddha found in Gandhāra are older than the images of Jina and Buddha discovered at Mathura."

and others not. A headless standing Buddha from Loriyān Tangai, now in the Indian Museum, is dated in the year 318 and another from Pālāṭu Dherī in Hashtanagar, now in the British Museum, in the year 384. Vogel⁵⁴ refers the years 318 and 384 to the Seleukidan era of 312 B.C. Thus the years 318 and 384 correspond to 6 and 72 A.D. respectively. Majumdar⁵⁵ refers the years to the Mālava era of 58 B.C. Thus, according to him, the years 318 and 384 are equivalent to 260 and 326 A.D. respectively. Majumdar assigns a late date to the Loriyān Tangai and Hashtnagar images on the following two grounds. Corinthian pilasters of a much conventionalized type occur on the Loriyān and Hashtnagar pedestals. As ornamentation of building in the Corinthian in place of the Ionic order came to be recognized for the first time in the age of Augustus (30 B.C.—A.D. 14), the date of the two sculptures must necessarily be put at least after the first quarter of the first century A.D. Again, the script of the Kharoshthī inscription on the Loriyān Tangai pedestal cannot be of the pre-Kushāṇa period; for it resembles the script of the Arā inscription of Kanishka II. We may add, too, that the Bodhisattva figure on the Hashtnagar pedestal has a nimbus around the head. So with the Bodhisattva-figure on the Loriyān Tangai pedestal. A nimbus, as we have already remarked, appears around the Buddha's head for the first time in the time of Kanishka I. Thus the two sculptures cannot be placed before Kanishka I, that is their dates should be referred to the Mālava era. It is interesting to note that the nimbus is plain in either case. This shows that the plain nimbus has been prevalent over a long period of time and, therefore, is not necessarily an early feature, although a decorated one is a later feature as evidenced by the Buddha image on the Shāh-jī ki-Dherī casket.

⁵⁴ J. Ph. Vogel, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, pp. 244 ff.

⁵⁵ Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, p. 19.

In some of the Buddha image of Gandhāra, which are not inscribed and dated, the head is fashioned like that of Apollo, while in others the face is small and the body slim. The former images, which preserve the idealism of Hellenistic art, are regarded older than the latter, which approach the realism of Indian art of the Gupta period. The typical Hellenistic examples are the image of the Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhī in the Berlin Museum and another in the Guides' Mess at Mardan.⁵⁶ According to Foucher the sculpture at Mardan cannot be put later than the first century B.C. But in our opinion it should be assigned, along with the image from Takht-i-Bāhī, to the early Kushāṇa period; for both images have a plain nimbus.

In conclusion, we may state that in arguing that it was most probably with an Indian artist in Mathurā that the idea of representing the Buddha in human form originated, no attempt has been made to date the beginning of the Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra late.⁵⁷ The School most probably originated in the second century B.C.,⁵⁸ in the time of Menander who, in the light of Tarn's researches, should now be assigned to the first half of the second century B.C.⁵⁹ and not to the second half of the second century or, even worse, to the first half of the first century. We can distinguish three phases of the school. In the first phase, of the second century B.C., the form of the art is largely Hellenistic Greek, as is shown only by the

⁵⁶ Rene Grousset, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Other examples are also cited by Grousset.

⁵⁷ According to Tarn the supporters of Mathurā either date the beginning of the Gandhāra School late or postulate two independent creations of the Buddha-image. But in the present paper nothing of the sort has been done.

⁵⁸ The beginning of the Gandhāra School has been dated everywhere from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D. and even after it. For the various dates see Tarn, *op. cit.*, pp. 394, 397—99.

⁵⁹ For this date of Menander see Tarn, *op. cit.*, Chapters IV (*Demetrius and the invasion of India*) and VI (*Menander and his Kingdom*).

figures of kings and deities on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria (in Northern Afghanistan) and India with features reminiscent of the Schools of Praxiteles and Lysippos.⁶⁰ In the second phase, dating from the first century B.C. to the second century A.D., Graeco-Roman influence is found.⁶¹ The third phase, of the third century A.D., is marked by Indianization, a process that in the end overpowered and deadened the art. Of the two streams of foreign influence, the first in the period of Greek rule probably came from the Seleukidan capital Antioch on the river Orontes in Syria, and no doubt Bactria played a leading part in this spread of Hellenism. The second stream during the Śaka, Parthian and Kushān periods, probably came from the Graeco-Roman West, specially from Palmyra, Baalbek, Dura Europos and other Greek colonies in Syria which flourished between the first and third centuries A.D.

⁶⁰ Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila* (1918), p. 27.

⁶¹ For the influence of Graeco-Roman art of Western Asia on Gandhāra art see Majumdar (*A Guide to the sculptures in the Indian Museum*, Part II, pp. 6—11). Rene Grousset regards the Gandhara School as the easternmost branch of Graeco-Roman art in Asia (*op. cit.*, pp. 110, 116.). But Marshall (*A Guide to Sāñchi*, 1918, pp. 31-32) is of opinion that Gandhāra art was the sister, not the daughter, of Roman art and that their mother was the Hellenistic art of Western Asia of the time of the Seleukids. Fr. H. Heras (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XII, 1936, p. 71) denies Greek influence altogether, and connects Gandhāra art with Mohenjo-Daro. But the greatest difficulty in accepting the view of Fr. Heras is that while the Graeco-Buddhist School of Gandhāra originated about the second century B.C., the beginning of the Indus Valley Civilization at Mohenjodaro can be put to about 3400 B.C.

In some of the Buddha image of Gandhāra, which are not inscribed and dated, the head is fashioned like that of Apollo, while in others the face is small and the body slim. The former images, which preserve the idealism of Hellenistic art, are regarded older than the latter, which approach the realism of Indian art of the Gupta period. The typical Hellenistic examples are the image of the Buddha from Takht-i-Bāhī in the Berlin Museum and another in the Guides' Mess at Mardan.⁵⁶ According to Foucher the sculpture at Mardan cannot be put later than the first century B.C. But in our opinion it should be assigned, along with the image from Takht-i-Bāhī, to the early Kushāṇa period; for both images have a plain nimbus.

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THE PERSONAL HISTORY OF BAGHUNATHA
MAHADEVA GHATE (A.D. 1650—1730) TOGETHER
WITH AN ANALYSIS OF HIS
NIRÑAYARATNAVALI

BY

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In my paper¹ on Raghunātha Mahādeva Ghāṭe recently published I tried to prove on contemporary evidence that this hitherto unknown author flourished between A.D. 1650 and 1700 or so at Hardī near Rajapur in the Ratnagīri District of the Bombay Presidency. Incidentally I recorded some of his works viz. (1) नित्यकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति, (2) व्रतकाण्ड, (3) सोमेश्वरदशकम्, (4) निर्ययरत्नावली, (5) भाद्रनिर्ययदीपिका, represented by MSS belonging to the author himself and his brother अनन्त महादेव घाटे. This family of Karsada Brahmins of Hardī continued its learned pursuits for over 200 years, as shown by a collection of about 600 MSS belonging to this family now in possession of the Sanskrit Pathashala at Rajapur. Some of these MSS were copied by Raghunātha Ghāṭe and his contemporaries while others were copied by his descendants.² They bear ample testimony to the unbroken tradition of learning among the members of this family for several generations and the zeal and industry with which MSS of different works were acquired copied and preserved by them.³

¹ *Journal of Tanjore S. M. Library*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 9—13. Vide also my paper on a MS of *Hastasañjīvanabhāṣya* (*Jaina Antiquary*, Vol..... pp. . . .)

² A complete genealogy of this family is being reconstructed by me on documentary evidence supplied by my friend Pandit Raghunātha Sāstri Patankar of Rajapur.

³ Many of the MSS in the Ghāṭe Collection at Rajapur bear dates. I propose to publish a list of these dated MSS in the near future. This list would prove very useful to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature.

Besides the works of Raghunātha mentioned above he seems to have composed some other works but as the MSS of these works are not before me at present I am unable to record a list of them in this paper, which I propose to devote to an analysis of Raghunātha's निर्णयरत्नावलि, to which he refers in his भाद्रनिर्णयदीपिका (folio 62) in the words "मत्कृतनिर्णयरत्नावल्याम्". This abundantly shows the learning of Raghunātha and his close familiarity with texts on Dharma Śāstra.

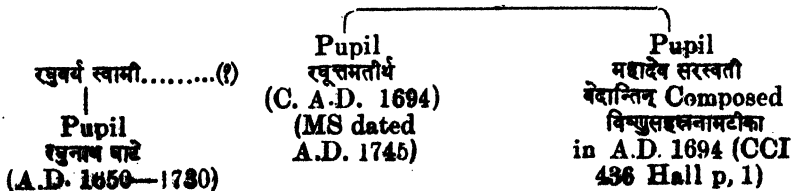
It appears from some Sanskrit letters⁴ of Raghunātha that he was in the habit of writing letters in Sanskrit to his sons and other persons. He seems to have given good

⁴ Copies of three of such letters have been kindly sent to me by my friend Pandit R. K. Patankar of Rajapur. They are as follows:—

- (i) Letter from Raghunātha to his son Viṣṇu. This letter begins:—॥ श्रीरामो जयति ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमत् चिरंजीव विष्णुनाहसूनये आशिषः सन्तु.....अतः परमपि सपत्नीक आगन्तव्येति तात्पर्यार्थः इत्येते आशिषः शुभाः श्रीरामो जयति ।
- (ii) Letter from Raghunātha to his son Viṣṇu. This letter begins:—श्रीमद्रामो जयति ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमत् चिरंजीविने विष्णुतनयाय दीर्घायुवृध्याशिषः सततमस्तु ।विरोधस्तु क्षीमकृद्भस्तरवर्तमाने सहोमास्य सितैतरपक्ष-पर्यंतं मत्कुटुम्बांतरगता ये वर्तते ते सर्वे सुखिनः सन्ति ।
- (iii) Letter from Raghunātha to रघुवर्यस्वामि. It begins:—॥ श्रीः ॥ श्रीमद्भरिचरण स्मरण परोपकार सत्कार निपुणेषु.....रघुवर्यस्वामि-चरणामीरुहयुगेषु etc. This रघुवर्यस्वामि needs to be identified.

Aufrecht (C C I, 310) mentions रघुवर्य or रघूत्तम यति as the author of न्यायविवरणटीका. He mentions one रघूत्तमतीर्थ (pupil of पुरुषोत्तमतीर्थ and स्वयंप्रकाशतीर्थ) as the author of (1) भद्रैतानंद सागर and (2) दुर्गामकिलहरी. A MS of दुर्गामकिलहरी (No. 234 of Mitra's Notices, Vol. I) is dated Saka 1667 = AD. 1745. Are these authors identical with रघुवर्यस्वामी, the guru of रघुनाथ महादेव घाटे ? The chronology of रघूत्तमतीर्थ (author of दुर्गामकिलहरी) may be indicated as follows:—

स्वयं प्रकाशतीर्थ



education to his sons according to the traditional methods of education then current in different parts of India, as appears from his letter to one "रघुवर्यस्वामि". This person was evidently the *Guru* of Raghunātha, as Raghunātha calls himself अंतवासी when he offers his *pranāma* to him. Raghunātha has apparently written this letter to his *guru* several years after his leaving the presence of the *guru*. He took leave of his *guru* and came back to his native place and settled there as a house-holder. Three sons and three daughters were born to him before he wrote his present letter. The names of these children as given by Raghunātha for the information of his *guru* are :—

Sons :—(1) शारंगधर, (2) विष्णु, (3) प्रभाकर,⁵ (wife अवंतिका)

Daughters :—(1) कावेरी, (2) द्वारका, (3) लीलावती

At the time of writing his letter to *guru* his *eldest* son had completed the वेदाध्ययन (सपदक्रमसंहितं) and he had become षडंगवित् (शिक्षा, कल्प, व्याकरण, निरुक्त, छंदस्, ज्योतिष); his *middle* son had completed the study of दशमंथ, had gone to the गोदावरीतीर for completing the study of रघुवंश and other *Kāvyas* and was then studying the शास्त्र; the *youngest* son had studied the ब्राह्मण (सपदक्रम) etc. While these sons were proceeding in this manner their mother died! The elder brother of Raghunātha was then residing at "कातावरग्राम," and any care bestowed by रघुवर्यस्वामी on him would be regarded by Raghunātha as bestowed on his own self.⁶

⁵ A son was born to प्रभाकर in Saka 1659=A.D. 1737. His name in the जन्मपत्रिका before me is "तोकदत्तशर्मा".

"स्वस्ति श्री नृपशालिवाहनराजे १६५९ फिंगलसंवत्सरे उत्तरायणे प्रीत्यर्थां ज्येष्ठे मासि शुक्लपक्षे त्रयोदश्यां तिथौ इन्दुवासरे.....कल्याणवेलायां पंचांगशुद्धे कौशिकवंशावतंससकलविद्या-विशारदतिलकश्रीमद्भट्टशस्त्राकरापरनामश्रीमद्भट्टरघुनाथसुतोः बाटे उपाधिपत्य श्रीप्रभाकरमहोदय तादृशी तेषां भार्या अवंतिकानाम्नी रात्रौ बटी ४ तत्र पुत्ररत्नं प्राप्त..... अत्य चरणप्रयुक्तं नाम तोकदत्त शर्मा इति".

⁶ Possibly this letter was written by Raghunātha after A.D. 1694 because in this year a son named श्रीपति was born to him while Raghunātha refers to the death of his wife in this letter. The जन्मपत्रिका of this son, possibly in the handwriting of

The foregoing personal history of Raghunātha and his family as recorded by him personally is very important as it shows clearly that he had studied under a *guru* "*Raghu-varya Swāmi*" and was looking after the education of his three sons perhaps in the same manner in which he must have studied under his *guru*, who evidently lived outside the Konkon territory.

The three sons of Raghunātha seem to have enjoyed good reputation as learned men and were recognized as such by contemporary rulers. This fact is amply vouched by certain documents⁷ in the possession of the present descendants of the Ghate family of Harḍī. The dates of these documents are A.D. 1735 and 1737.

With these remarks about the *guru* of Raghunātha and his sons I proceed with the analysis of निर्यारकावली.

Raghunātha himself is before me. I quote from it the pertinent extract :—“स्वस्ति श्री नृपशालिवाहनराके १६१६ भा.....संवत्सरे उत्तरायणे शिशिरसौ माघ-शुक्ल-१३ चोदशी वार ६ शुक्रवासे... ..शुभे अहनि कल्याणवेलायां ॥ अगणितगुणपरिपूर्णासर्व-विद्याविशारदश्रीमद्यशस्करापरनामक रघुनाथभट्टानां घांटोपनामकस्य भाव्या उभयकुलानंददायिनीपुत्ररत्नं प्राप्त.....अवकाहाख्यचक्रनाम कोदंडराम इति प्रतिष्ठितं । व्यावहारिक नाम श्रीपतिरिति प्रतिष्ठितं ॥..... Unfortunately the name of Raghunātha's wife is not entered in the जन्मपत्रिका but the three dashes of the blank for this name may perhaps indicate that it was a three-lettered name.

⁷ Copies of these documents have been kindly supplied to me by Pandit R. K. Patankar. I note below some particulars of these documents :—

- (i) Letter dated Śaka 1657 (=A.D. 1735) to विष्णुभट्ट घाटे, refers to the *inām* of a village to विष्णुभट्ट formerly belonging to his uncle पांडुरंगभट्ट.
- (ii) Letter dated *Rājyābhiṣeka Śaka* 63 (=A.D. 1737) from Raja रांभु छत्रपति to संभाजी आंगरे regarding the *inām* to विष्णुभट्ट घाटे at हर्डी village, etc.
- (iii) Letter dated *Rājyābhiṣeka Śaka* 63 (=A.D. 1737) from रांभु छत्रपति (contents identical to those in No. 2 above) to the मिरासी of the village where the *inām* land was situated.
- (iv) Letter from Raja रांभु छत्रपति to कुण्याजी पंडित प्रतिनिधि regarding *inām* land at इंधवटी village to झाङ्गधर भट्ट घाटे. This letter must have been written between A.D. 1707 and 1741, the period of the rule of कुण्याजी पंडित प्रतिनिधि of Vishalgad.

The Rajapur MS of the *Nirṇayaratnāvali* begins :—

“श्रीगणेशायनमः श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः
 वंदे रामं धनश्यामं जानकीशं जगद्गुरुं ।
 यशस्करः प्रकुरुते तिथ्यादीनां विनिर्यायं ॥
 चतुर्मुखं मुखाभोजं वनहंसं वधूर्धमम् ।
 मानसे रमतां नित्यं सर्वशुक्ला सरस्वती ॥
 तत्र तावत् स्मृतिकर्तारो मुनयः प्रोच्यन्ते ।

In the list of authorities quoted in this work* the following are chronologically important:—

(1) भट्टोजिदीक्षितः (fol. 76) (Between A.D. 1560 and 1620)

* References to works and authors as found in this MS are :—

स्मृतिदर्पणे, 1, 19, 22, 24, 61,	याज्ञवल्क्यः, 4
विष्णुः, 2	आचार्यः, 4
बसिष्ठः, 2, 12,	व्याघ्रपादः, 4
लौगाक्षिः, 2	स्मृतिचंद्रिका, 5, 6, 20, 38, 39,
संग्रहे. 2 4, 29,	माधव, 5, 6, 7, 8,
चतुर्विंशतिमते, 2, 4, 31,	रातपथश्रुतेः, 5
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हेमाद्रिः, 2, 5, 6, 7	मयूखे, 5
बृहस्पतिः, 2, 5	बोपदेवः, 5
स्कांदे, 2, 6,	अपराजिते, 5
अग्निपुराणे	देवलेन, 5, 6,
व्यासः, 2, 5, 6,	द्योतकारः, 6, 13, 16,
विष्णुधर्मोत्तरे, 2, 6,	भागवते तृतीयस्कंधे, 6,
परारारः, 2, 5	गोभिलीये, 6,
आदित्यपुराणे, 2, 3,	विष्णुधर्मे, 7
हेमाद्रौ ब्राह्मे, 3	गर्गनारदौ, 7, 14,
रामचंद्राचार्यैः, 3	ज्योतिषे, 7, 12,
वृत्तिकृत्तारायणः, 3	बार्हस्पत्यः, 8
हेमाद्रौ गण्डे, 3	दीपिकायां, 8, 18 (तटवसागरात्), 23,
श्राद्धदीपकलिकायां, 3	सिद्धान्तशिरोमणिचचनात्, 8
मदनपारिजाते, 3	गोषायनः, 8
पृथ्वीचंद्रोदये, 3, 6, 23, 35,	पादमे, 8
स्मृत्यर्थसारे, 3	कूर्मपुराणोक्तेः, 9, 14,
हेमाद्रौ आदित्यपुराणे, 3	मदनः, 9, मदनरत्न, (15), 18,
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षट्त्रिंशन्मते, 4, 5, 3 ⁰ ,	बाबाक्षिः, 9
ब्रह्मपुराणवचनात्, 4	नारदीये, 10, 16,
मरीचिः, 4	हेमाद्रौ चण्डिकाये, 10

- (2) मयूखकार (possibly नीलकण्ठ author of व्यवहारमयूख (fols. 72, 73, 82); मयूखे (fol. 5, between A.D. 1610 and 1645.
- (3) स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (fols. 62, 85) possibly of अनन्तदेव (A.D. 1650 —1675) according to P. V. Kane (HDI, 682)

पदार्थादर्शो, 11	मिहिरक्षरायां याज्ञवल्क्यः, 20,
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कालकाण्डे गारुडे, 14	लीलावत्यां, 20,
माधवीये कात्यायनः, 15	विष्णुरहस्ये, 21, 23,
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भागवते, 17	शिवराघवसंवादे, 24, 25
निबन्धकृत्, 17	लौगाक्षिः, 25,
शिवधर्मोक्तेः, 17	प्रभासखण्डे, 25, 35,
सौरोक्तेः, 17, 22,	दीपिकाविवरणे, 25, 29, 38,
प्रचेतसः, 17	हारीत, 25
वृद्धवसिष्ठः, 18	मदनपारिजाते, 25, 28,
सुमन्तु, 18	ऋग्विधाने, 25, 39,
पुराणसमुच्चयात्, 19, 35, 39,	निर्णयदीप, 26
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कात्यायनः, 20,	नारायणवृत्तः, 26, 70, 71,
वाराहः, 20	प्रयोगपारिजाते, 26
ऋष्यशृङ्गः, 20	छंदोगपरिशिष्टे, 26
पुलस्त्यः, 20,	कर्काचार्यैः, 26,
भास्व (पुराण), 20	आपस्तम्बसूत्रात्, 26,
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	भारद्वाजसूत्रे, 28,
	अपराकौ गर्गवचनात्, 29

(4) निर्णयसिंधुकार (A. D. 1612) fols. 39, 45, 87

(5) दिनकरोद्योत (fol. 20) begun by दिनकर and finished by his son विश्वेश्वर alias गागामह

सृष्टिसमुच्चये, 29,
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रामांकारः, 29, 26,
तन्त्ररत्ने, 29,
त्रिकांडमंथनः, 29,
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हिरण्यकेशिशृङ्गौ, 33
केशव स्वामी, 30,
वृद्धगार्ग्यः, 30, 41
भार्गवार्चनदीपिकायां, 30, 35, 43, 45, 93,
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लिङ्गपुराणे, 31
व्याघ्रपादः, 31,
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विज्ञानेश्वर, 32, 33,
भारते, 32, 33 (महाभारते)
ब्रह्मसिद्धांते, 32,
वारुणस्मृतौ, 33,
शिवाचनचंद्रिकायां, 33, 41,
रत्नसागरे, 34,
कश्यपः, 34,
ज्योतिर्निबंधे, 34, 42,
कालविवेके, 35,
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गौतमः, 36,
चातुर्वर्ग चिंतामणौ (हेमाद्रिकृत, 35,
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ज्योतिःसागरे, 35,
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मन्त्रमुक्तावल्यां, 41
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दक्षिणामूर्तिसंहितायां, 41
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विधानमालायां, 42 (Earlier than
A. D. 1550)
दिव्योदासनबंधे, 42, 55,
ज्योतिषरत्नमालायां, 42
बृहत्पराशरः, 43
नृसिंहपुराणे, 43
टोडरानंद, 44,
गौडनिबंधः, 44
नृसिंहपरिचर्यायां, 45
तीर्थसौख्य, 45
निर्णयसिंधुकारः, 39, 45, 87, (A. D.
1612)
धन्वतरिनिघंटुः, 45
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श्रीधरस्वामी, 46
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वृत्तिकृत, 47
वैजयापगृह्ये, 47
चमत्कारचिंतामणौ, 47
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बह्वृच गृह्यपरिशिष्टे, 49 बह्वृच-
कारिका, 50,
शिंशामट्टीये, 49
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खादिरगृह्योक्तेः, 51
योगेश्वरवाक्यात्, 53
अनंतभट्ट, 53, 54,
कल्पतरौ, 55,
गोविंदार्णवः, 56, 59,
विश्वरूपनिबंधे, 59,
प्रतापमार्तण्डे, 60, 63,

As Raghunātha mentions स्मृतिकौस्तुभ in his निर्यायरत्नावली and as Raghunātha's आद्यनिर्यायदीपिका mentions this निर्यायरत्नावली the date of the निर्यायरत्नावली lies between स्मृतिकौस्तुभ of अनन्तदेव (AD. 1650-1675) and the आद्यनिर्यायदीपिका of Raghunātha.

Raghunātha copied a MS of गङ्गाष्टक in Saka 1643 (= AD 1721)⁸

He copied a work called “शिक्षादिचतुष्टयं” in Śaka 1598 (= A.D. 1676)⁹ and another work called “सरस्वतीस्तोत्र” 1599 (= A.D. 1677)¹⁰. There is a MS of “अवयवाद्वादशीकथा” copied in Śaka 1553 (= A.D. 1631) by one हरिभट्ट, who may

निर्यायदीपः, 60	उशानस्, 81,
आद्यकलिकायां, 60	देवयाग्निकनिबन्धे, 82,
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कार्ष्णजिनिबचनात्, 61	लङ्गः, 87
स्मृतिरत्नावल्यां, 61	शुद्धितत्त्व, 87
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छागलेये, 74,	सर्वशेनारायणोक्तेः, 94,
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भट्टोजिदीक्षितैरप्येवं व्याख्यातं स्मृतिटी-	सञ्चाद्रि खंडे, 101
कायाम्, 76	ईशानसंहितायां, 102
शूलपाणी, 78,	नारदीयसंहितायां, 102
मदनमहार्णवे बृहस्पतिः, 80	निर्यायचिन्तामणिः, 104
कौस्तुभे, 80	बृहद् बभोक्तेः 104
	विधानमालायां, 105

⁸ गङ्गाष्टक (गंगाभागीरथीस्तोत्र) in the Ghate Collection *Colophon* :—

“प्लवाङ्गे आबधे मासि दशम्यां बुधवासरे ।

यशस्कराभिधानेन लिखितं पुस्तकं शुभम् ॥

स्वस्ति श्री शके १६४३ प्लवसंवत्सरे आबधशुक्ले दशम्यां शनैश्चरवासरे इन्द्रदेवत्यर्क्षे लिखितं श्रीरस्तु ॥”

⁹. MS in Ghate collection—*colophon* :—“१५९८ आश्विन १ १६ इन्दौ बांटे रघुनाथेन लिखितं”

¹⁰. Ibid सरस्वतीस्तोत्र—“शके १५९९ पिंगल...पूर्वमाद्रपदा बांटे उपनाम्ना महादेव भट्टा (भज रघुनाथेन) पुस्तकं लिखितं ।”

¹¹. Ibid—अवयवाद्वादशीकथा—“शके १५५३ प्रजोत्पत्तिसंवत्सरे भाद्रपदवदि द्वितीया शकले इदं पुस्तकं लिखितं । इदं पुस्तकं हरिभट्टेन लिखितं”

have been an earlier member of the Ghate family. A MS of न्यायमालावृत्ति (chapters 6, 7, 8, 9) was copied by one केशव, son of गदाधर in Śaka 1529 (= A.D. 1607) at जनकग्राम¹². A MS of वर्षफलपद्धति dated Śaka 1590 (= A.D. 1644) written by one शङ्कर belonged to Raghunātha ("शके १५९० कील संवत्सरे... शङ्करोऽ लिखत् । श्रीरस्तु नगरग्रामे । इति वर्षफलपुस्तकं घंटाभिधान यशस्करस्य")

It will thus be seen that the earliest MS written by Raghunātha was in the year A.D. 1676 while the latest bears the date A.D. 1721. During this period of 45 years Raghunātha must have copied numerous works for his own study. In the extant Ghate collection of MSS there are many MSS written by Raghunātha and bearing dates of copying between A.D. 1676 and 1721. A study of these MSS will have to be undertaken later in the interests of the cultural history of Mahārāṣṭra in the latter half of the 17th century characterized by political unrest especially during the reigns of the Maratha kings, Sambhaji and Rajaram, say between A.D. 1680 and 1700. The literary activity of Raghunātha Mahādeva Ghāṭelies, say between A.D. 1675 and 1730, while his early life including his education under his guru रघुवर्य स्वामिन् may be taken to cover a period of about 20 years from A.D. 1655 to 1675. We may, therefore, safely assign Raghunātha to the period A.D. 1650 to 1730.

The chronology connected with the Ghate family as disclosed in the present paper is as follows:—

Date	Particulars R—Raghunātha Ghate
1607	MS of न्यायमालावृत्ति belonging to विष्णुरघुनाथ घाटे
1612	Date of निर्यायसिन्धु quoted by रघुनाथ घाटे in his निर्यायरत्नावली
1631	MS of भवणदादशीकया copied by हरिभट्ट in the Ghate collection at Rajapur)

¹². Ibid.—न्यायमालावृत्ति—"श्री व्यंकटेश । शके १५२९ सर्वत्रित्संवत्सरे मार्गशीर्षशु ॥ नवम्यां पदे गदाधरसुतकेशवेन लिखितम्" MS belonged to विष्णु भट्ट घाटे, son of Raghunātha.

Date	Particulars R—Raghunātha Ghate
1644	MS of शास्त्रदर्पण belonging to R
1650—1675	Date of स्मृतिकौस्तुभ (of अनन्तदेव) quoted by R
1668	MS of वर्षफलपद्धति belonging to R
1673	MS of नक्षत्रप्रकरण belonging to काशिभट्टपोरे dated Saka 1595 (= AD 1673)
1676	MS of शिक्षादिचतुष्टय copied by R
1677	MS of सरस्वतीस्तोत्र copied by R
1679	MS of ऋग्वेद (पञ्चमाष्टक) Accent marks were recorded by R in Saka 1601 (= AD. 1679)
1680	Recorded of a जप performed by R
1682	MS of a धर्मशास्त्रसंग्रह belonging to अनन्त घाटे the brother of R.
1683	A MS of नित्यकर्मानुष्ठानपद्धति composed by R. The MS belonged to his brother अनन्त.
1690	MS of भुतबोध: written by R in Saka 1612.
1694	Birth of a son श्रीपति to R. Nothing further is known about this son. Perhaps he was short-lived.
1694	MS of गोत्रप्रवरनिर्णय of भट्टोजिदीक्षित belonging to R.
	— Letter of R (in Sanskrit) to his guru रघुवर्यस्वामी. R mentions in this letter the birth and education of his three sons शार्ङ्गधर, विष्णु, प्रमाकर and three daughters कावेरी, द्वारका, लीलावती. R mentions also the death of his wife.
1707—1741	कृष्णाजी पयिडतप्रतिनिधि ruled at Vishalgad. Raja शम्भु क्षत्रपति writes a letter to this प्रतिनिधि about the <i>inām</i> of a village to शार्ङ्गधर घाटे son of R. This <i>inām</i> was formerly in the name of पांडुरंग, the brother of R and uncle of विष्णु.

Date	Particulars R—Raghunātha Ghatē
17-5	MS of शास्त्रदीपिका ¹⁸ copied by विष्णु घाटे.
1737	Birth of son to प्रभाकर घाटे, the son of R. अवंतिका was the wife of प्रभाकर, the youngest son of R.
1737	Letter from शम्भुछत्रपति of Kolhapur to Sambhaji Angria regarding the <i>inam</i> of some land to विष्णु घाटे at हाडी near Rajapur.
1755	MS of प्रत्यवरोहणप्रकरण copied at कनकगिरिग्राम by विष्णुभट्ट टोंक (Śaka 1677)
1762	MS of वेदपादस्तोत्र copied by रमारमण घाटे, son of प्रभाकर, and grandson of विष्णु रघुनाथ घाटे (Śaka 1684).
1768	MS of ऋग्वेद (अष्टक) (४) copied by नारायण कात्रे belonging to रघुनाथ घाटे, son of बालं भट.
1808	MS of "सौरछंद ऋषिः" copied by बालाजी घाटे, son of लक्ष्मणभट्ट (Śaka 1730.)
1810	MS of मणिकर्णिका स्तोत्र revised at पुण्यग्राम by काशिनाथ चतुर्धर
1822	MS of गायत्रीकवच belonging to हरभट्टजी गुणे— (Śaka 1744)

¹⁸. This work is in 12 *adhyayas*. The copyist refers to his *guru* सच्चिदानंद at the end of some chapters. The colophon of the 9th chapter reads :—

“श्री शके १६५७ विदवावसुसंवत्सरे आषाढमासे कृष्णपक्षे १० दशम्यां अर्कवासरे गोदावरीतट-
निकटवर्ति श्रीमन्नासिकास्थे महाक्षेत्रे श्रीमद्यतिवर्षे श्री सच्चिदानंदवरवरूपगुरुवर्यप्रसादात् तदन्ते-
वासिना श्रीमद्विद्वत्सकलगुणालंकृतश्रीमद्दोषाख्यकुलोत्तंसश्रीमधरास्करभट्टचतुना विष्णुना लिखितं
पठितं भूतं”

This endorsement of A.D. 1725 explains the statement of रघुनाथ that his middle son (विष्णु) went to गोदावरी तीर for study. As रघुवर्यस्वामि was the *guru* of रघुनाथ, सच्चिदानंद of Nasik was the *guru* of his son विष्णु, who bows to his *guru* as follows :—

Chap. III (colophon)—“गुरुवरणसरोजं सच्चिदानंदरूपं । सकलदुरितनाशं भुक्ति
मुक्तिप्रदं च ॥ सकलनिगमबोधं सर्वसीकृत्यं च नित्यं । सकलजनविशेषं सर्वदाहं प्रणामि
॥१॥”

The above table will speak for itself though I have not recorded in it all the dated MSS of the Ghate collection at Rajapur Sanskrit Pathashala. The tendency to record dates together with particulars about the scribe and his family, so characteristic of the Jain scribes, is noticeable in the MSS of the Ghate collection at Rajapur. Unfortunately no published list of the Rajapur MSS is available for the use of scholars. My present study was possible only on account of a hand-made list of the Ghate MSS supplied by my painstaking friend Pandit Raghunātha Shastri Patankar, whose erudition and thorough knowledge of the different branches of Sanskrit learning, not to say his critical historical sense, have been responsible for his spontaneous efforts to make the valuable manuscript material at Rajapur more widely known to Sanskrit scholars than hitherto.

Before I close this paper I must record evidence about the name of the great grandfather of रघुनाथ महादेव घाटे which was not forthcoming when I published my earlier paper on the subject. In a MS of दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग¹⁴ composed by रघुनाथ he records this name as रामेश्वर भट्ट. This evidence is genuine as it is corroborated not by a late copy of the work but by a contemporary copy in two colophons on folio 9^a and 11^b. The MS belonged to Raghunātha as the endorsement on the last folio 12^b reads “घाटोपनामक महादेवभट्टात्मज येसंभट्टयेदं” (येसंभट्ट = रघुनाथ). Most probably the MS was written by Raghunātha himself in the year दुंदुभि, month

¹⁴. MS of दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग (folios 12) in the Ghate collection (fol. 12^b)-Colophon :—“इति श्रीरामेश्वरभट्टसूनु (अनंतभ) ट्टात्मज—श्री मन्महादेव-भट्टांगजरघुनाथभट्टकृतौ पिंडपितृव्यतिथिवेण दर्शश्राद्ध—प्रयोगः ।”

श्री रामचन्द्रार्पणमस्तु । दुंदुभी मार्गशीर्ष शुक्लाष्टम्यां लिखितं ।”

folio 9a—“इति श्रीमद्रामेश्वरभट्टांगजश्रीमदनंतभट्टात्मज—महादेवभट्टसूनु रघुनाथकृतौ गृहसूत्रोक्त निरग्निन दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोगः”

Raghunātha on folio 77^b of his श्राद्धनिर्णयदीपिका refers to his दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोग as follows:—“अत्र विस्तरो ग्रन्थांतरेभ्यः । इति पिंडपितृव्यतिथिवेण दर्शश्राद्धप्रयोगः”

मार्गशीर्ष शुक्ल अष्टमी which corresponds to *Monday 27th November 1682* (Ind. Ephemeris, Vol. VI, p. 167). The MS is very much worn out and torn on the left side.

Rājāpur was once an important place. In an assembly¹⁵ of Pandits gathered there between A.D. 1650 and 1675 some learned Brahmins from Benares and some from the Rajapur province were present. The celebrated गगामट्ट of Benares, who conducted Shivaji's coronation in A.D. 1674 and composed a work समयनयः in A.D. 1680 for Sambhaji, was present in this assembly. This assembly reached a decision regarding the status of Śeṇvī or Sārasvata Brahmins, which was recorded in a document now published. In the list of authorities on Dharma Śāstra quoted in this document स्मृतिकौस्तुभ¹⁶ is mentioned. We have already stated that रघुनाथ महादेव घाटे mentions स्मृतिकौस्तुभ in his निर्णयरत्नावली। Perhaps Raghunātha's reference to स्मृतिकौस्तुभ is later than that occurring in the above document.

¹⁵ Vide pp. 292—305 of B. I. S. Mandal इतिवृत्त (Śaka 1835 = AD. 1913) Note No. 81 (शिवकालीन शास्त्री व पंडित) by P. N. Patwardham. The document begins:—“श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीसीतारामचन्द्राय नमः ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीमत्पंचधान्यस्तत्राप्युदित.....etc. and ends :—

“शास्त्रज्ञानं समालोक्य आचारं च विचारतः । इयेनकीजातिधर्माणां निर्णयः कथितो बुधैः ॥” Benares Pandits present were : (1) गगामट्ट, (2) शितिकण्ठ, (3) रघुनाथ, (4) कबीन्द्र परमानन्द, (5) महादेव, (6) प्रभाकर उपाध्याय, (7) श्रीरंगराक्षिणः, (8) नृसिंहराक्षिणः, (9) विश्वंभरभट्ट, (10) महादेव अयाचित, (11) विनायक, (12) सोमनाथ, (13) जगन्नाथ, (14) विष्णुभट्ट, (15) भूगोपालमिश्रः अनंतोपाध्यायः, (16) महादेव शेष (काशीस्थाः पण्डिता अमी).

¹⁶ Ibid. p. 296—““पृथ्वीं चंद्रोदयं कल्पतरुं च स्मृतिकौस्तुभं” “करहाटकजातीव” Brahmins like गुर्जर were present at the assembly.

CLIVE AND THE COMPANY'S POSTAL SYSTEM.

BY

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That Clive was the real founder of a regular postal system in British India is a fact which has received scant attention from historians so far. Indeed, it was Clive who laid the foundations on which the modern elaborate postal system has been subsequently built up by his successors. Clive's work in this connection is therefore of the utmost historical interest not merely as a pioneer attempt in itself, but for the light it throws on his power of organisation and zeal for administrative reform.

Clive's interest in the establishment of an organized postal system had its origin in the necessity of keeping open the main lines of communication throughout the distant or outlying parts of the Bengal *Subah* which, after the transfer of the *Diwani* to the Company, had come under the virtual control of the English authorities at Calcutta. The sole responsibility for the military defence of Bengal against internal or external dangers now lay actually with the Company, hence there was the urgent necessity of keeping in constant touch with the English troops stationed at different places in the province, and of obtaining regular intelligence from all parts of the province or from other presidencies.

Apart from purely military considerations, a regular postal system was urgently needed for the growing commercial requirements of the Company itself or its servants. The authorities at Fort William needed to be continuously informed of the transactions of the Company's factors and *gumashtahs* scattered all over the country. An efficient postal system was thus called for not merely in the interests of military defence of the country, but also for the commu-

nication of civil and commercial intelligence. The assumption of the *Diwani* in 1765 thus made it absolutely imperative on the part of the Company to organise its own system of *daks*, and Clive is justly deserving of credit for the initial efforts made by him in this direction

The system that Clive introduced was mainly a continuation of the old *dak* organisation of horse carriers or runners who carried letters and despatches by relays along the road from place to place. All that was required was to maintain a permanent and efficient staff of runners for this purpose. Clive entrusted the maintenance of this staff to the zamindars along the postal routes, and made them responsible for a regular supply of runners to carry the mails. [*Vide* Beng. Sel. Com., Nov. 5, 1765]. It is noteworthy that the zamindars could claim a proportionate deduction in their rents for the actual number of postmen maintained or supplied by them. But as they were obliged to supply and support the *daks* of the *Nizamat* as also those of the Company, their expenses were certainly much greater than any token compensation that they may have been actually allowed for these services.

Mr. Francis Sykes, Resident at the *Durbar*, who was fully cognisant of the heavy burden that was thus placed on the zamindars took up their cause after enquiries into their grievances, and asked the authorities at Calcutta not to allow the Emperor to place additional *daks* of his own from Allahabad to Calcutta and Murshidabad at the expense of the hard-pressed zamindars. He wrote to Clive and the Select Committee about this in the following words:—

“Representations of late have been made to me by the zamindars of different villages that the King is fixing dawks from Allahabad to this place and Calcutta; that it will be a very great burthen to the inhabitants in many parts of the country, if they are under a necessity of supporting them with the usual necessities, having already both the Company’s and the Nabob’s dawks to provide for,

and request they may be relieved from so heavy a grievance." [*Vide* Letter from Mr. F. Sykes, October 31, 1765. S. C. Proceedings, I, pp 318-22.]

It was early in 1766 that Clive finally arranged for a full-fledged organisation of *daks* within the Bengal province, and from Bengal to other Presidencies. The principal regulations [*Vide* Beng. Pub. Cons., March 24, 1766] now laid down may be thus summarised :—

- “(i) The *daks* were to be controlled by a Postmaster with assistants under him.
- (ii) The mails from Calcutta were to be despatched from the Government House.
- (iii) Letters meant for despatch were to be sorted every night.
- (iv) The *daks* were to be “sent off” personally by the Postmaster or his assistant.
- (v) Letters for different centres were to be packed in separate bags.
- (vi) The mail bags were to be sealed with the Company's seal.
- (vii) None but Chiefs of Factories or Residents were to open the bags meant for their respective areas.
- (viii) The Chiefs were “to observe the same rule with respect to the letters sent down to Calcutta.”

The system of runners, which forms the basis of the postal system of these days, was obviously far from perfect, and in the beginning there occurred frequent miscarriages of mail bags, particularly on the way from Calcutta to Madras. [*Vide* Beng. Pub. Cons, July 7, 1766]. Accordingly, fresh regulations were framed by Clive for a better organisation of *daks*, and these were circulated to the factories and Residencies subordinate to

Calcutta as well as Madras. [*Vide* Public Proceedings, pp 726-8, and O.C., 7th July, No. 1 (a)]

The second set of regulations laid down by Clive may be thus summarised:—

- (i) For the current year (i.e., 1766) the mail bags were to be “ numbered in regular succession from this time to the end of the year.”
- (ii) In future the mail bags were to be numbered “from the 1st January to the last of December.”
- (iii) The day and hour of despatch, and also the number of the packets were to be noted on the tickets affixed to them.
- (iv) On every packet or bag the number and date of the preceding despatch was to be noted.
- (v) In order to have the earliest news of miscarriage or loss of a packet, the Resident or Chief of a factory was regularly to send advice of the receipt of each packet to the Resident of the stage from whence it came last.
- (vi) When any packets were found to be missing, the Chiefs or Residents at the two nearest stages were to examine the runners and punish them severely, if they failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the loss.
- (vii) The Post-master at Calcutta and Residents at Balasore, Cuttack and Ganjam were to keep separate registers of despatches to and from Madras.
- (viii) All packets were to be sealed with the Governor's seal as well as with that of the Company to prevent their being opened before arrival at destination.

Along with these regulations, the Governor and Council passed the following resolution for information of the Presidency of Madras. "And as we have reason to believe that by proper attention to the Tappies, the communication with Madras may be more expeditious, particularly between Vizagapatam and Bandermalnaka, where making allowances for passing the Rivers, it is remarked they are very tardy, it is agreed to write to the gentlemen at Madras to mention this to their subordinate factories that they may fall upon proper measures to remedy it, and recommending small boats or sangarees to be stationed at the different rivers." [*Vide* Beng. Pub. Cons. July 7, 1766].

Under Clive the Company's post office in Bengal was really meant for official purposes, and it was not made available for private communications, until it was re-organised by Warren Hastings in 1774.

THE PRE-MUTINY RECORDS IN AGRA

BY

DR. MAHDI HUSAIN, M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

In the course of the year 1941 I was appointed by the U. P. Historical Society to examine pre-mutiny records in the Agra district kutchery. But it was not until August 1942 that the U. P. Government accorded me permission to work at the Records Section of the Agra Collectorate. As the pressure of College work then came in the way I utilised some of the holidays and devoted my off days in the months of March and April 1943.

I am deeply indebted to Mr. H. R. Shivdasani, the Collector of Agra, my patron who as a great scholar appreciated my humble contribution already made in the cause of research in history. He very kindly granted me every facility for work at the Collectorate. May he enjoy long life and prosperity!

But I regret to say that the Agra Collectorate is not so rich in pre-mutiny records as I expected. In this respect the office of the Commissioner of Agra is much richer. The records at the Collectorate throw light on the Pensions and Gratuities granted by the Mughal Emperors to the Hindus for the upkeep of their temples, idol-house and cowsheds; they also throw light on the story of the Juma Masjid, the Tripolia, the tomb of Mariam Zamani at Sikandra, the mausoleum of Itimad-ud-Daulah, the Tahsil and Collectorate buildings and the Durgah of Fatehpur Sikri. But the records at the Commissioner's Office are more interesting and more voluminous. Still the records at the Collectorate are not negligible; and I have for the present utilised these.

The correspondence they contain throws light, first, on the Tripolia which at one time stood between the Fort

and the Juma Masjid connecting the two by means of gates. It has been described as a kind of fortified out-work to the principal entrance of the Agra Fort providing a convenient approach to the Juma Masjid. It was utilised by the British forces on their capturing Agra in 1803 for it was from the Tripolia that they made their way into the Juma Masjid although it was not necessary to pass through the Tripolia always in order to enter the mosque. There were alleys and bye-lanes by which people passed from outside the Tripolia and got into the northern and southern gates of the mosque. After the British conquest of Agra the mosque or the Juma Masjid was placed under the charge of a Magistrate, and the gate of the Masjid which opened into the Tripolia was shut up. The northern and southern gates of the Masjid hitherto closed were then opened, enabling the inhabitants of Agra to have free access to it without passing through the Tripolia. The Tripolia since then remained under the charge of the officer commanding the troops at Agra, and thus it continued probably until the Mutiny (1857) when it was destroyed.

Secondly, light is thrown on the story of the tomb of Mariam Zamani at Sikandra. "This building" says Mr. Hamilton, Commissioner of Agra, in his letter of 19th March 1839, "must have originally cost a large sum of money. It is the tomb of Begum Murium Zumano, but never having been attended to or in any way protected it is now almost in ruins. Such, however, was the durable and substantial nature of the structure that the roof is sound and the walls intact, though the interior is greatly mutilated, the pavement entirely removed and all the ornamental cornices and facings destroyed or carried away; on the roof is a plain white marble block smaller than that over Akbar but without any inscription and which I conjecture has from its weight and size been suffered to remain, every portable bit of marble having been removed"

Mr. Hamilton's observations are not incorrect and are borne out by a casual visitor and sight-seer even at the present day. The tomb looks so poor and has been so completely stripped of all ornaments and marble pieces that it is scarcely believed at first sight to have been the mausoleum or the resting place of the Rajput princess of Jaipur, the wife of Akbar and the mother of Jahangir. Presumably it had been plundered before the British conquest of Agra and was in decay as witnessed by Mr. Hamilton some thirty years later. Mr. Hamilton is apparently touched at the pathetic sight the building presented and feelingly describes that in the whole building the tomb was not visible. He presumed that it lay in the centre; "but it is built up and so full of rubbish," says he, "that I have not yet been able to ascertain this definitely." It follows that the tomb remained closed till it was opened by the British.

Mr. Hamilton was instrumental in securing the premises of the said building (hitherto known as the Begam Bagh) for lodging Christian orphans—180 boys and 150 girls—who had been rescued from the famine which had lately afflicted Agra. The Christian Orphanage thus founded became known subsequently as the Agra Orphanage Asylum which is quite full to-day.

Thirdly, light is thrown on the story of the tomb of Itimad-ud-Daula, the father of Nur Jahan and the father-in-law of Jahangir. In this connection twenty-seven letters were exchanged between the Collector of Agra and the Sudder Board of Revenue, N.W.P., Allahabad, the resumé of which is given below.

It appears that at the time of the British conquest of Agra the said tomb was in a dilapidated condition and under the charge of some private family who mis-managed it. M. Davidson, the Commissioner of Agra, refers to this in the course of his letter dated 10th August 1842, and he brings out the following points:—"Whether the tomb from the period of its erection has to be considered a public

Edifice, the property of the State, has not Government the right of determining at any given time in whose custody any such building shall be placed; and for the present to assume themselves the custodians of the Tomb of Etimadeoddowla. . . ”

It should be noted that Mr. Davidson was touched at the pathetic sight the tomb then presented. He wrote “in the hope of stopping the progress of its decay and preserving from approaching ruin so remarkable a specimen of Asiatic architecture and so striking a memorial of the former taste and genius of the Muhammadan people in India. . . .” Mr. Davidson adds, “It does not appear that at any time it (Tomb) was endowed with lands or assignments on the Revenue for its maintenance; and so has from long-continued neglect and bad usage fallen into decay that threatens, if unattended, to bring it at no distant date to irrecoverable dilapidation. For many years past this building had been in the private charge of a family of the female descendants of Zoofacarood Dowla Mirza Nujuf Khan*, the Viceroy of Agra, under Shah Alam by whom (Nujuf Khan) the walled Bagh within whose enclosure the Mausoleum stands, was granted to his Sister for private expenses and by her presented as marriage portion for her niece the daughter of Nujuf Khan on her marriage with Nawab Mirza Muhammad Ali, a resident

* Mr. H. M. Elliot, Secretary Sudder Board of Revenue N.W.P. Allahabad in his letter of 26th August 1842 addressed to the Secretary N.W.P. Government Agra gives an account of Nujuf Khan. “Nawab Nujuf Khan, it is well-known, was brought over from Persia by Sufdu Jang’s brother. Neither he nor any of his relations were previously in any way connected with India. During the time of the decreptitude of the Mughal Empire he obtained in 1772 the Post of Bukhshee under Shah Alam, and died with the title of Vuzeer Mootluk in 1782. He was instrumental in recovering Agra from the Jants and therefore at one time possessed influence there. He evidently, however, had no right to alienate for the use of his own family the imperial possessions.

The gardens were held for sometime after our acquisition of the country by members of his family to whom he is said to have assigned.

of Dehlie, and during whose occupancy the mausoleum of wrought marble was. . . treated with the most barbarous marble. To rescue the edifice from the hands of those who were said to have disgraced it and from ruin it was proposed to this family that they should resign the entire custody of it into the hands of Government. . . .”

Fourthly, light is thrown on the pensions and charitable allowances granted by the Mughal Emperors to the Hindus for the maintenance of their religious endowments which will be described later.

Fifthly, light is thrown on the history of the Tahsil and Collectorate buildings. It appears that the land included in the said buildings formed part of the premises of the Durgah of Shah Wilayat under the Mughal Emperor and until the conquest of Agra by the East India Company. In a letter written by the Collector to the Commissioner of Agra on 10th October 1873 it has been acknowledged that the “Tahsil building—A Badshahi Haweli—in the first instance—was made over to the Durgah of Shah Wilayat subsequent to the British conquest of Agra. We are informed that the buildings was used in 1841 as Assay and Bullion Office.” Now the Durgah of Shah Wilayat better known as Hazrat Shah Ala-ud-din Majzub still stands in the street known as Naiki Mandi; and it is no wonder if the Tahsil and Collectorate buildings at one time belonged to it. This fact is mentioned in a petition addressed by Syed Meher Ali, a descendant of Shah Ala-ud-din Majzub to the Lt.-Governor, N.W.P., dated 29th June, 1873. It was from the latter that the Government acquired these in part.

Sixthly, light is thrown on the history of the Durgah of Fatehpur Sikri. We are informed that the endowment at Fatehpur Sikri was made by the Mughal Emperor Akbar for three purposes of keeping the building in repairs, maintaining the descendants of the Shaikh and celebrating certain festivals at the shrine. Seven villages have been mentioned in the archives (in serial order) which

had been granted by Akbar in the first instance and then continued by his successors. These have been maintained for the same purpose by the British Government.

It is interesting to note that the outbreak of the Mutiny (1857) gave an opportunity which perhaps the descendants of the great saint Shaikh Salim had long been seeking to ventilate their feelings. Abdul Haye, then administrator of the shrine, revolted along with other members of his family and joined hands with the mutineers. He sent messages to the mutineers of the Nimuch Brigade and encouraged them to attack Agra and provided them with supplies. He seized the Tahsildar of Fatehpur Sikri and kept him in durance for several days and finally proclaimed the rule of the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah II. But the British troops arrived in time; and on this, Abdul Haye and his associates decamped. They returned only after the Mutiny had been subdued and an amnesty had been promulgated. Under the terms of the amnesty Abdul Haye escaped punishment, but he was removed from his office and his allowance was confiscated.

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